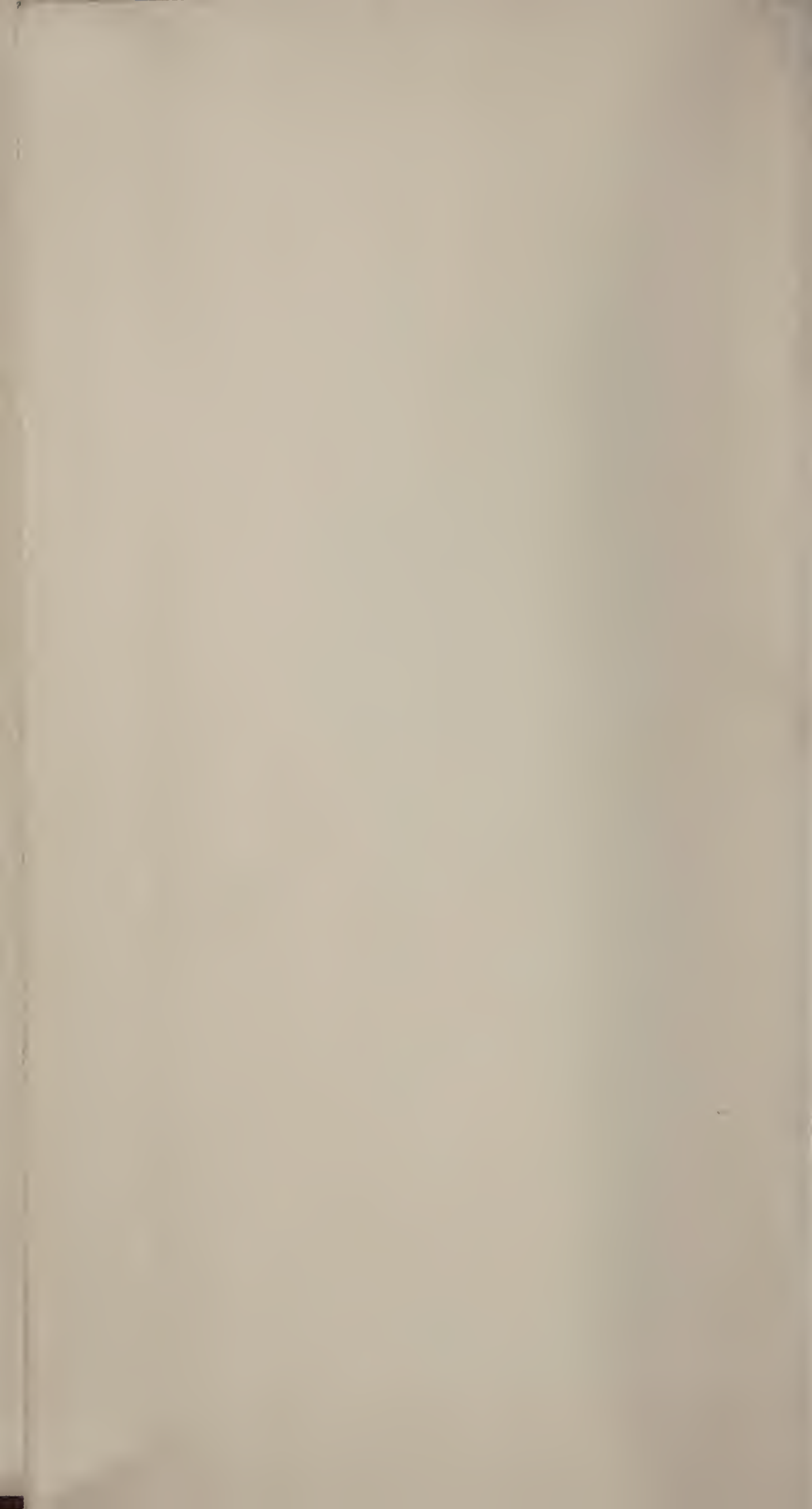




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NUMA POMPILIUS



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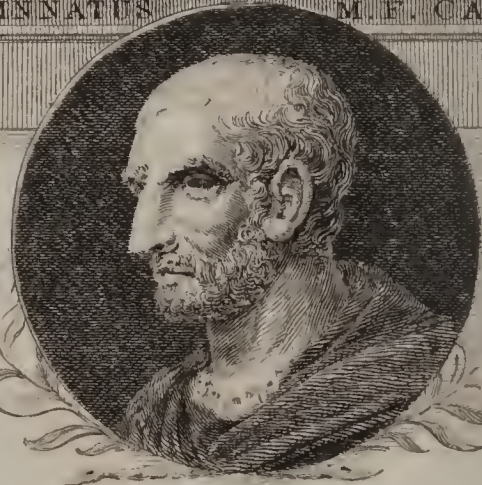
C. M. CORIOLANUS



L. Q. CINCINNATUS



M. F. CAMILLUS



L. J. BRUTUS.

Biography
OF CELEBRATED
ROMAN CHARACTERS:
WITH
NUMEROUS ANECDOTES,
ILLUSTRATIVE OF
THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS.

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM BINGLEY, M.A. F.L.S.
Late of Peter-house, Cambridge, and Author of Animal Biography, &c. &c.



With a brief Account of the Author's Life and Writings, and an Appendix on
Roman Literature.

DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF YOUNG PERSONS,
And embellished with Engravings of Portraits and Historical Subjects.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HARVEY AND DARTON,
GRACECHURCH-STREET.

1824.

MEMORANDUM

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A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.

THE admirers of Mr. Bingley's writings (and who that values knowledge seasoned and recommended by religious feeling, does not admire them?) will, doubtless, feel a sensation of deep and sincere regret, while they are now taking into their hands this his *posthumous* volume. Upon parting with an esteemed friend, it is natural to review all the occasions on which we derived from him either pleasure or instruction. A similar feeling will justify the publishers of this little work to place before the reader a summary sketch of Mr. Bingley's literary labours. Indeed, in noticing the life of studious men, no other choice is afforded: as the progress of a general is traced by his battles, that of the scholar must be marked by the succession and nature of his publications.

The Rev. William Bingley was born at Doncaster in Yorkshire, in the year 1774. He finished his studies at Peterhouse, Cambridge; and on taking his Bachelor's degree, in the year 1799, his name was the twenty-first on the list of honorary degrees. His original destination was for the bar; but his inclination for more tranquil studies induced him to enter into Holy Orders. His ministry was exercised for many years as curate of Christchurch, Hampshire: on his subsequent removal to London, he officiated, during the latter years of his life, at Fitzroy Chapel. In March, 1823, he was attacked by an inflammation of the chest, occasioned by cold: the malady terminated in his rapid dissolution, after a week's illness, on the 11th of that month, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

His remains were buried in the vault under the middle aisle of Bloomsbury Church. This melancholy and unexpected event was deeply deplored by Mr. Bingley's friends, to whom he had endeared himself by the extent and pleasing communication of his knowledge, by his mild and unobtrusive manners, by his kind and amiable disposition, by his probity of character, by the warmth and sincerity of his friendship, and by his unaffected piety of heart.

His principal works, as editor and author, are as follows:

I. "Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford, (afterwards duchess of Somerset,) and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the years 1738 and 1741." These letters were printed from manuscripts, the property of Mrs. Burslem, of Imber House, Wilts, to whom the work (comprised in three volumes 12mo, 1805) is inscribed. Lady Hartford is not an unknown name: to this lady, Thomson has dedicated his "Spring," and Dr. Watts his "Miscellanies." She is also known from her benevolent interference with the queen, in behalf of the poet, Savage.

II. "Memoirs of British Quadrupeds." This work was intended as the first volume of a series of memoirs of British animals, in which, for the accommodation of such persons as are inclined to pursue the study of any one branch of zoology in preference to others, each class was to be rendered perfectly distinct from the rest. The author more particularly aimed at an accurate delineation of the habits of life, instincts, and sagacity, of the animals peculiar to Great Britain and Ireland, from the highest to the lowest classes. The technical and descriptive parts were to be separated from the body of the work,

and inserted at the end of each class, in the form of a synopsis. By this plan Mr. Bingley hoped to obviate the numerous inconveniences which are felt in Mr. Pennant's work on British Zoology, from an indiscriminate mixture of description and anecdote. The preceding work seems intended to have been followed by an account of *British Fishes*. The work is inscribed to Dr. Brownlow North, bishop of Winchester.

III. "North Wales Delineated, from two Excursions through all the interesting parts of that highly beautiful and romantic Country; and intended as a Guide to future Tourists, 8vo. 1814." This volume was the result of his tours in the summers of 1798, 1801. The work is accompanied with a very excellent map of North Wales. The Itinerary inserted at the conclusion of the volume, contains a notice of almost every object worth visiting throughout the whole of North Wales. This work has been so well received by tourists, (who at the most must be a limited class of readers,) as to have made a second edition necessary. The work is dedicated to Dr. Smith, President of the Linnean Society.

IV. "Animated Nature, or Elements of the

Natural History of Animals; illustrated by short Histories and Anecdotes, and intended to afford a popular View of the Linnean System of Arrangement, 1814." Mr. B. has inserted no subject whatever which can, in any respect, prove offensive to the most delicate female mind. The Monthly Review, October, 1816, has passed the following judgment on the preceding work:

"When we reflect on the quantity of useful information which Mr. Bingley has contrived to reduce within such a limited number of pages, on the authentic documents from which he has abridged his materials, and on the easy comprehension of his style and manner, we cannot hesitate to recommend this work to those persons who are entrusted with the education of the young."

V. "A Practical Introduction to Botany; illustrated by references under each definition, to Plants of easy access, and by numerous Figures, and also comprising a Glossary of Botanic Terms." 12mo. 1817.

We will now advert to another class of Mr. Bingley's publications, entitled, "Biographical Conversations," comprising *three* parts: 1. VI. On eminent and instructive *British Characters*; 2. VII. On most *eminent Voyagers*; 3. VIII. On *celebrated Travellers*. The author feigns that the members of a family employ their even-

ings in discussing the lives, characters, and adventures of celebrated men: hence arises the appellation of the volumes.

VI. The *Biographical Conversations on British Characters* was the earliest in point of time, and, by the favour of the public, has passed into a third edition, 1821. The delight that is experienced, and the information that is often elicited in domestic circles, by the familiar discussion of literary and scientific subjects, suggested the plan of the present work. It occurred to Mr. Bingley, that, if such discussions were capable of yielding important instruction, conversations on the human character, illustrative of the development, progress, and attainments of the human mind, must be capable of yielding instruction of still greater importance. Mr. B. adopted this form, thinking it attractive to young persons, as it admits of scope to numerous incidental reflections and observations, of which no other form is capable; and from an attentive perusal of judicious discussions of this nature, the young may also be taught to discuss similar subjects by themselves. Each of the lives may be turned into an exercise in English composition, if, for this purpose, it be attentively read; and if, from recollection, its principal contents be written down in the form of a narrative.

The British Characters have been arranged under distinct heads of Statesmen, Philosophers, Divines, &c. that the juvenile reader may have an immediate view of those persons, who have been eminent in each of the classes. Mr. B. has endeavoured to select such lives only as were capable of affording instruction, and of making the strongest and most permanent impression on the minds of those readers, to whose use they are here alone appropriated.

Another part of his design has been to insert, in every life, as many anecdotes as possible, well knowing that the attention of young persons is, in general, much more easily fixed by example than by precept—by incident than by observation. With a view to the formation of the youthful mind, the author has inserted as many important particulars as possible, relative to the education and progress in knowledge, of the individuals whose lives he has made the subject of discussion; and, by the anecdotes he has been able to collect, he has endeavoured to illustrate the advantages that result to young persons, from submission to authority and restraint, from application to study, from industry, integrity, and obedience, and the unhappiness that is invariably consequent upon disobedience, indolence, imprudence, bad company, and dissipation. But as infinitely the most important of

all, he has, in all cases, endeavoured to show the necessity of early religious instruction and habits.

VII. The preceding volume was followed by *Biographical Conversations on the most eminent Voyagers*, comprehending the narratives or adventures of Anson, Byron, Columbus, Cortes, Carteret, Cook, Drake, Dampier, James, Magellan, Pizarro, Rogers, Vesputius, and Wallis. As this work is designed exclusively for the use of young persons, the nautical and other technical phraseology has almost wholly been omitted. The descriptions of many important natural productions have likewise been omitted, because such would not only have too much extended the work, but because they would have essentially interfered either with the narratives or the discussion. If accounts of these be wanting, they may all be found by reference to the author's publication, entitled, "Useful Knowledge." These concise narratives are intended not to satisfy the minds of his youthful readers, but to stimulate to further inquiry.

VIII. The third and last of Mr. Bingley's *Biographical Conversations*, relates to *celebrated Travellers*. These narratives are longer, and

more comprehensive than those of the *Voyages*, as many of them illustrate, and are immediately connected with numerous historical facts. In the selection of the travels, Mr. B. has been cautious not to insert the narratives of two travellers through the same part of a country. The interest which this work possesses, may be best estimated by a brief view of its contents: it comprises the Travels of Ludovico Verthema, from Damascus to Medina and Mecca, and thence to India; the Journey of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul; Wheeler's Travels in Greece; Maundrell's Travels in the Holy Land; Bell's Journey from Petersburg to Ispahan; Norden's Travels through Egypt and Nubia; Kalm's Travels in North America; Hearne's Journeys from Prince of Wales's Fort, towards the Northern Ocean; Dr. Moore's Travels in France, Switzerland, and Germany; Swinburne's Travels in Spain.

Mr. Bingley had intended that the "Conversations on Celebrated Travellers" should be accompanied by a small collection of Maps, as a *Geographical Companion*, not only to the "Travellers," but also to the "Voyagers," and to any other volumes which he might hereafter publish in a detached form, in any way connected with similar subjects. We do not believe that he executed this part of his literary plans;

but though his design, as far as related to the Maps, was either abandoned or not completed, he has very amply compensated for this omission, by a pleasing collection of—

IX. “Modern Travels.” This work, which appeared in detached parts, is finally arranged in six volumes. In explanation of the plan of this work, it may, perhaps, be requisite to state, that it will not be found a mere abridgment of travels. A parent is supposed to relate, to his children, in a course of daily instructions, an account of every important country of the Old and New Continent; and for the purpose of varying the narrative, affording greater amusement, and more strongly impressing the subject upon their memory, he adopts, into his description, the adventures of such modern travellers as have proceeded along the same route which he is desirous of describing.

Thus, by a detail of anecdotes of extraordinary personal adventures, connected by illustrative remarks and observations, he endeavours to allure them to the attainment of a knowledge of geography, and of the character, habits, customs, and productions of foreign nations.

The *first* volume of this very entertaining work is assigned to Africa. In this part, Mr. Bingley’s authorities are Denon’s Travels in

Lower and Upper Egypt; Legh's Tour on the banks of the Nile, between the first and second Cataracts; Bruce's Travels to the source of the Nile; Brown's Journey from Cairo to Dar Fûr; Miss Tully's Description of Tripoli; Jackson's Account of Morocco; Adams's Adventures in the Great Desert; Park's first and last Journey into the interior of Africa; Winterbottom's Account of Sierra Leone; Bowdich's Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee; Dalzel's Account of Dahomy; and Tuckey's Expedition to explore the Zaire or Congo.

The *second* volume is dedicated to South America. The information is derived principally from Condamine's Voyage down the Amazon from Peru to Brazil; Stedman's Five Years' Expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam; Bolingbroke's Voyage to Demerara; Humboldt's Voyage down the Apuré, and thence up the Oronoko; his Description of Cumana and the Caraccas, &c.; Ulloa's Travels in Peru; Humboldt's Journey from Carthagena, through Peru to Lima; Helm's Journey from Buenos Ayres, by Potosi, to Lima; Mawe's Account of Monte Video, Santos, Rio de Janeiro, Villa Rica, Diamond Mines, &c.; and Lindley's Description of Bahia.

North America finds place in the *third* volume; in which are comprised the various tours

of Fearon, Weld, Hall, Birkbeck, Michaux, Bartram, Pike, Lewis and Clarke, Mackenzie, Ross, Parry, &c.

South Europe will be found in the *fourth* volume. Scott's Description of Paris; Pinkney's Journey from Paris to Orleans and Aix; Coxe's Travels in Switzerland; Eustace's Italy; Dodwell's Description of Zante, and his Excursions through various parts of Greece; Southey's Journey from Corunna to Madrid; Jacob's Tours in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, &c.; furnish matter for this portion of Mr. Bingley's work.

North Europe occupies the *fifth* volume. Mr. Bingley has collected his materials from Scott's Excursions through the Netherlands; Mrs. Radcliffe's Journey from Helveotsluys to Amsterdam, from Nimeguen to Coblentz and Friburg. Dr. Townson's Travels through Hungary; D'Uklanski's Excursions to Dresden and Poland; Coxe's Travels in Poland and Denmark; Wraxall's Journey to Berlin, &c.; Thomson's Travels in Sweden; Von Buch's Tour through Norway and Lapland; Clarke's Travels through Russia; and James's Journey from Moscow into Poland, along the course pursued by the French army.

The *sixth* volume contains information relative to *Asia*. Reference is made to Dr. Clarke's

various Journeys; Ali Bey's Journey from Acre, through Damascus, Aleppo, Antioch, &c.; Kinneir's Journey from Scutari to Scanderoon, and return through Iconium; Dallaway's Excursion along the western side of Asia Minor; Kinneir's Journey from Erzerum, through Bagdad, to the Persian Gulph; Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia; Ali Bey's Pilgrimage to Mecca; Morier's Journey from Bushire to Ispahan, Teheran, and Erzerum; Lord Valentia's Journey from Tanjore to Madras, Seringapatam, and Mangalore; Hodge's Journey from Calcutta to Agra; Elphinstone's Journey from Delhi into the Kingdom of Cabul; Turner's Embassy from Calcutta into Tibet; Syme's Embassy to Ava; Lord Macartney's and Lord Amherst's Embassy to China; and Gmelin's Journey from Kazan into Siberia.

Among Mr. B.'s more valuable labours, we must reckon his, X. "Useful Knowledge, or a familiar Account of the various Productions of Nature, Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal, which are chiefly employed for the use of Man, and intended as a Work both of instruction and reference." Three vols. 12mo. Third Edition.

The object of the author was to compress all the interesting information that could be obtained respecting the various productions of

nature, within as narrow a compass, and, at the same time, to render this information as entertaining and as devoid of technical words and phrases, as possible. The reader will not here find an account of *every* production of nature which is employed for the use of man, nor even *all* the uses of such objects as are described. The most important of the productions, and the principal of the uses are indeed all that can be reasonably required in a work of the present extent. On this ground, a great number of animals which are in request only for food, have been wholly omitted. The author was aware, that, in some instances, the definitions are defective; but ascribes this defect to a necessity of rendering them short, and, at the same time, of using such terms as would be likely to convey information to the minds of persons, who have had no previous knowledge of the systems of natural history. We subjoin some testimonies to the merit of this publication.

“As a compendium of accurate information upon every subject connected with the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, we have not seen a more useful publication than this.

“To the library of the young, these volumes will be a most desirable addition.” *British Critic for Sept. 1817.*

“There is, we are persuaded, no class of readers to whom this book will not be both amusing and instructive. To those who have already studied the subjects in larger works,

it will serve to recal the particulars which are most interesting, and may be advantageously employed as a book of reference. Those, on the other hand, who have not entered upon such inquiries, will find a great deal to gratify their curiosity, conveyed in an agreeable manner.

“To young persons, especially young ladies, who have seldom an opportunity of studying large systems of natural history, we should particularly recommend this work.”

Edinburgh Magazine, for May, 1817.

In 1822, Mr. Bingley edited a very useful publication, XI. “The Economy of a Christian Life,” 12mo. The plan of this little work is to collect, into small compass, some of the most important maxims and rules of conduct that are laid down in the sacred writers; to arrange these under appropriate heads, in such manner that they should read connectedly with each other. The nature of this book may be understood by observing the head of each chapter.

1. Attributes and works of God:
2. Government and providence of God:
3. Nature and condition of man in consequence of his fall:
4. Redemption and resurrection of man:
5. Duty of man towards God:
6. Christian Sacraments:
7. General, and 8. Relative duties of mankind towards each other:
9. Duty of man as an individual:
10. Future rewards and punishments.

The most popular of Mr. Bingley's publica-

tions is his, XII. "Animal Biography, or Popular Zoology; illustrated by authentic Anecdotes of the economy, habits of life, instincts, and sagacity of the Animal Creation." A sixth edition of this invaluable work, in *four* volumes, 12mo. was printed in 1824. In giving this work to the public, Mr. B. wishes to be understood as laying no claim whatever to attention, except on the score of utility. He has, however, so far avoided the track of all former writers, that he has brought forward many new anecdotes and observations, which tend to promote the study of this delightful science. Mr. B.'s inquiries are very creditable both to his taste and industry: the principal authorities quoted in the work, will be found to exceed one hundred and fifty, and thereby to include the accounts of nearly all the authentic travelers and historians, from the earliest periods to the present time.

The principal intention of this work is to excite a taste for the study of natural history, in those persons, who have not hitherto attended to the subject. By confining his remarks almost exclusively to the habits of life, and instincts of the animals, Mr. B. endeavours to lead such of his readers, as may think the subject worth attention, into a train towards making observations for themselves, in the grand volume of

nature, which lies always open for their perusal.

In composing these volumes, Mr. B. has, throughout, attended to every thing which he considered might be of use in juvenile instruction; and more particularly in the impression of moral and religious feelings. Every indelicate subject is scrupulously excluded.

The system to which Mr. B. adheres in his arrangement, is that of Linnæus, as corrected by Gmelin, Shaw, and a few other later writers. This, though not, perhaps, in every respect, so natural as some others, Mr. B. conceived the best calculated of any extant, to simplify and assist the study.

This work has been translated into several European languages. The happy union of religious feeling and philosophical precision, which characterizes the whole production, induced the venerable "Society (held in Bartlett's Buildings) for Promoting Christian Knowledge," to enter this work upon their own immediate list of books. Our domestic journals have been unanimous in their commendations of this publication.

Character of this Work from the Monthly Review for October, 1803.—"We would recommend his (Mr. Bingley's) volumes to those professed naturalists who may be desirous of revising, in an easy and methodical manner, some of the most interesting results of their former investigations;—to the student, who is now enabled, with no great expendi-

ture of either time or trouble, to trace at once the outline of a great department of the Linnean system, and to treasure in his mind many of the curious facts connected with the history of animal creation; to the philosopher, who loves to speculate on the constitution and conduct of organized beings;—and even to him who, without having it in his power to pursue any fixed plan of study, can occasionally devote an hour or two to rational recreation. From the perusal of these anecdotes, the young of both sexes may reap much entertainment and instruction, without encountering a single passage which can alarm modesty, or wound those pure and simple feelings which constitute the ornament and comfort of our condition.”

No less a degree of praise is bestowed by the British Critic, Annual Review, and Antijacobin, in the same year.

XIII. Sixty of the most admired “Welsh Airs,” collected by Mr. Bingley during his excursions into Wales. These have been arranged for the piano forte, by Mr. Russell, organist of the Foundling Hospital. This work was published for Mr. Preston, Strand, in 1803.

We have reason to believe, that Mr. Bingley’s character for industry, discernment, and integrity, induced several respectable booksellers occasionally to procure his valuable services. We have not been able to ascertain the extent of these labours, some of them appearing, perhaps, as fugitive pieces in magazines, or as separate publications without his name. Under

this description of his works, we must class his XIV. "Musical Biography," 2 vols. 8vo. 1814, published for Colburn. This work contains memoirs of the lives and writings of the most eminent musical composers and writers, who have flourished in the different countries of Europe, during the three last centuries.

XV. "Visits to the Leverian Museum," (12mo. Tabart,) containing an account of several of its principal curiosities, both of nature and art: intended for the instruction of young persons, in the first principles of natural history.

In reviewing Mr. Bingley's literary toils, we must not omit to state, that he had been occupied, during fifteen years, in arranging a History of Hampshire. The unfortunate causes which interrupted and finally prevented the execution of this plan, are detailed in a pamphlet, entitled, "An explanatory Address, by the Rev. W. Bingley, relative to the History of Hampshire; submitted to the Subscribers, in consequence of a Meeting called for that purpose, on the 17th May, 1817." Published by R. Wilks, 89, Chancery Lane. At this time Mr. B.'s manuscript collections for this arduous undertaking, are stated by him to have amounted to nearly six thousand closely-written pages,

besides genealogical notes of more than four hundred families connected with the county. These manuscripts still remain in the possession of Mr. Bingley's family.

We conclude this brief notice of Mr. Bingley's writings by adverting to, XVI. the present volume, the ROMAN CHARACTERS. In arranging this work, Mr. B. seems to have deviated from his original plan of exhibiting the eminent characters of antiquity, by the medium of biographical conversation. This alteration he would probably have explained, if his valuable labours had not been intercepted by sudden death. In one sense, however, this publication cannot be called *posthumous*, as, previously to his decease, it had proceeded under the author's immediate eye, to the full size which had originally been assigned for the volume. What loose papers Mr. B. had left, explanatory of his purposes, were subjected to the judgment of a clerical friend of the deceased. This gentleman found, upon inspection, that, of the lives which Mr. B. had (apparently) intended to delineate, three were literary men, and the rest were warriors, whose actions had virtually been detailed, from being incorporated and mingled with those of their contemporaries. Under these circumstances, it was judged more conducive to the

general interest of the subject, to substitute, in room of materials which had been in great degree anticipated, a brief sketch of Roman literature, and a notice of Mr. Bingley's chief publications.

The reader may wish to take a general conspectus of the works, to which allusion has been made above.

- I. Lady Pomfret's Letters, 3 vols. 12mo. 1805.
- II. Memoirs of British Quadrupeds, 8vo. London, 1809.
- III. North Wales delineated, 8vo. 1814.
- IV. Animated Nature, 12mo. 1814.
- V. Introduction to Botany, 12mo. 1817.
- VI. Biographical Conversations on British Characters, third edition, 12mo. 1821.
- VII. ————— on the most eminent Voyagers, 1818.
- VIII. ————— on Celebrated Travel-
lers, 12mo. second edition, 1819.
- IX. Modern Travels, 6 vols. 12mo. 1823, with plates.
 1. Africa.
 2. South America.
 3. North America.
 4. South Europe.
 5. North Europe.
 6. Asia.
- X. Useful Knowledge, 3 vols. 12mo. third edition, 1821.
- XI. The Economy of a Christian Life, 12mo. 1822.
- XII. Animal Biography, sixth edition, 4 vols. 12mo. 1824.
- XIII. Collection of Welsh Airs.
- XIV. Musical Biography, 2 vols.
- XV. Visit to the Leverian Museum, 1 vol. 12mo.
- XVI. Roman Characters.

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Roman Characters.

NUMA POMPILIUS.

A Sabine nobleman, who succeeded Romulus as king of the Romans.

He was born at Cures, a town of the Sabines, on the 21st of April, in the 753d year before the birth of Jesus Christ.

IN his education, Numa appears to have had every advantage that the country in which he was born, and the time in which he lived, could afford; and his naturally virtuous disposition was, afterwards, much improved by his moral and philosophical studies.

Some adversities in early life, proved highly serviceable, not only in freeing his mind from wayward passions and propensities, but in counteracting the injurious tendency of those passions, which, by the world, are too frequently considered virtues. He was early taught that wealth and power did not lead to happiness; and, although martial courage was, in his time, the subject of universal admiration, he became convinced that true fortitude consisted in the subjugation of the passions by the exercise of reason. Hence he was induced to banish from his house every thing which bore the characteristic of luxury and splendour. Most of his leisure hours were either occupied in benefiting his fellow-creatures, or consecrated to the honour of the gods: given up to the acquisition of such a knowledge of religion as could be attained at a period when the world was immersed in spiritual darkness; and to

that work which constitutes the most sublime exercise of the human mind, the worship of the Great Creator.

After he had attained the age of manhood, he resided, as a private nobleman, at his country-seat, near Cures; and, during his residence there, his household exhibited no indications either of false indulgence or of unnecessary expence. His amiable *manners*, his liberal disposition, and his kindness towards all his inferiors, occasioned him to be so universally beloved, that, whenever any disputes occurred among his neighbours, he was applied to as a mediator, in appeasing their quarrels; and, in him, they invariably found a faithful counsellor and an upright judge.

So great became his reputation, that Tatius, king of the Sabines, was induced to give him his daughter, in *marriage*. But this dignified alliance did not, in any degree, elevate the desires of Numa, or destroy that contented serenity of mind which he had previously enjoyed. The disposition of his wife, in many respects, was similar to his own. He was disinclined to live in the same state as his father-in-law; and she preferred a life of obscurity and of happiness, with her husband, to all the splendour and all the honours of royalty. She survived her marriage thirteen years; and, after her death, Numa lived in greater seclusion than before. He seldom visited his native city, but passed most of his time in *solitary meditation*. Sometimes he would wander all night, alone, in the fields, and in the wildest and most solitary groves. Solitude, indeed, afforded to him a perpetual means of happiness; for it was accompanied with a love both of study and of piety.

His favourite *retreat* was a grove, from a dark cavern in the centre of which flowed a clear and beautiful rivulet. To this grove he frequently repaired; and, as the ancient historians assert, for the purpose of holding intercourse with a goddess, or wood-nymph, whom he called *Egeria*; and by whose

counsels, as they allege, he declared that all the most important actions of his life were conducted.

In explanation of this circumstance, it is requisite to observe that the philosophical and religious doctrines of the ancients were, in many instances, purposely concealed under poetic and allegorical mythologies. To persons skilled in these mythologies, they served to convey some real and valuable instructions; but, by the majority of mankind, they were frequently misapplied; and, although they involved the most extraordinary absurdities, they were taken in a literal sense, as historical and authenticated facts. The story of Numa's intercourse with Egeria, if understood literally, is either excessively absurd, or brings upon his memory a heavy charge of imposture. But, if divested of its allegorical signification, it only implies that he was delighted with retired and silent abodes, in which, without interruption, he could exercise himself in study. If the character that has been given of Egeria be correctly examined, it will be found to have had no other than an allegorical existence. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that some writers describe her, "not as a nymph, but as one of the Muses." Plutarch says the same; and adds that one of the titles or names of this Muse, was *Tacita*; and that, by her and by the rest of the Muses, Numa was inspired in all his public conduct. But, besides the apparent meaning of this poetic and philosophical mythology, Plutarch seems to have been of opinion, that something of greater importance was designated. It may, perhaps, have comprehended some distant allusion to that sublime doctrine, which has constituted the chief happiness of the wisest philosophers of all ages: that the Deity condescends to regard the pious meditations of the humble and the devout. It is the doctrine of Truth itself, that the Almighty will graciously communicate his spirit to those who sincerely ask it; increasing, daily, their real happiness, and inspiring them with

the designs of all their future actions*. Plutarch states that, the reported intercourse of Numa with this imaginary goddess, led him to a knowledge and a happiness which were more than mortal.

When Numa was in his fortieth year, and still living in retirement, *ambassadors from Rome* came to him, to entreat that he would accept the throne, which, by the death of Romulus, had become vacant. The Romans had imagined that he would gladly accept the proffered dignity, but they were mistaken. From the foundation of their city, they had invariably been actuated by a warlike and enterprising spirit; whereas, Numa was a lover of retirement and of peace. To the ambassadors he thus replied: “For
 “one who does not want the necessaries of life, and
 “who is contented with his situation, it would be absurd to renounce his accustomed habits. These, if
 “they have no other advantage, are at least certain, and
 “would, on that account alone, be preferable to such as
 “are uncertain. The government that you offer to
 “me, presents not even an uncertainty with regard to
 “danger, if we may judge by the fate of Romulus,
 “who is suspected to have destroyed his colleague,
 “Tatius, and who is supposed to have lost his own life
 “by an act of equal injustice. Yet Romulus is believed, by the Romans, to have been of divine origin.
 “As for me, I am but of mortal race, brought up and
 “educated in the midst of persons well known to you.
 “The qualities also for which I am applauded, are not
 “those that are suited to a Roman chieftain. I delight not in assemblies of men, associated for the
 “purposes of conquest; but in those of men who love
 “to honour the gods, who occupy their time in cultivating the earth, or tending their flocks, and all of
 “whose pleasures are innocent. The Romans may,
 “at this moment, be involved in wars commenced by

* Roman Conversations, i. 16.

“ their late monarch; and to terminate these in a way
“ that would be satisfactory to them, they would need
“ an active and enterprising commander. A person
“ like myself, who has set his heart upon the promo-
“ tion of religion and of justice, would probably soon
“ become contemptible in a city which appears to have
“ more occasion for a general than for a king.”

In a hope of being able to remove his objections, the ambassadors stated that the Romans were now ardently desirous of peace; and that there was no other person than himself, whom all parties could agree to elect as their king. Their arguments, however, were of no avail; and they were obliged to retire, unsuccessful in their application.

After they had departed, the father and the friends of Numa urged him, in the most impressive manner, not to reject this great and valuable gift of Heaven. They stated that if, contented with his present condition, he aspired neither to wealth nor to sovereignty, yet that he ought to consider how much more it might be in his power to benefit mankind in the elevated station to which he was called, than in that which he now held. After much persuasion, they induced him to assent to the wishes of the Roman people, who, not long afterwards, came, in a body, to solicit his acceptance of the government.

We have now to speak of Numa as a *monarch*. No sooner was he invested with the regal dignity, than he expressed his piety, by publicly offering sacrifice to the gods. He then set out on his journey to Rome; and the senate and the people, unanimous in their admiration of him, met him on the way. The populace welcomed him with shouts of joy; and the temples were crowded with persons offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, for having blessed them with so estimable a ruler. On his arrival at the Roman Forum, the usual ensigns of royalty were presented to him; but he would not accept them until his devotions had been paid to Heaven, and the

requisite prayers for the prosperity of his reign had been offered to that Being, from whom all blessings flow.

One of the first *acts of his government* was to discharge a body-guard of three hundred men, whom Romulus had always kept about his person: for he neither chose to distrust those who had placed confidence in him, nor to reign over a people who could distrust him. By his prudent and equitable conduct, he reduced this savage people to a state of civilization, which they had not before attained.

Two objects to which he directed his most anxious attention, were the encouragement of *religion*, and the maintenance of *peace*. The religion which he introduced, essentially contributed to the happiness of the city, because it served to establish order and regularity. But it was not from political motives only that Numa was led to encourage a spirit of piety among his subjects. He was influenced by motives infinitely more exalted than these: by the genuine dictates of his heart. Unenlightened by the pure spirit of revelation, he was, indeed, ignorant of the nature of true devotion; but he fully acted up to the lights which he had received. He consecrated many places of worship, erected temples and altars, instituted festivals, and drew up a code of laws relative to religion. By himself regularly attending the public worship, he gave to his people an undeviating example of piety. In his laws he directs that "none shall presume to appear in the presence of the gods, but with pure hearts and sincere devotion: that none shall make there a vain and ostentatious display of wealth, lest they thereby excite the anger of Heaven: that no one shall represent the Deity in the form either of a man or a beast;" and Plutarch asserts that there was no painted nor graven image in the Roman temples and sanctuaries, during nearly one hundred and seventy years. Numa likewise prohibited all bloody sacrifices, and

directed, instead, that loaves and meal should be presented to the gods, with libations of wine and milk. For the purpose of influencing the minds of men to principles of integrity, and giving stability to contracts, he erected an altar, and instituted a yearly festival to what he denominated *Bona Fides*, or "Good Faith." Among other religious offices, he instituted those of the high priests and augurs. Impressed with a notion that the world was under the protection of a Divine Providence, he believed that, at the prayers of the devout and sincere worshipper, the Almighty would condescend to indicate, by certain natural occurrences, such as the particular flight, the chirping and appearance of birds, his approbation or disapprobation of the intentions and proceedings of mankind; and the college of augurs, which Numa founded, was intended to have the superintendance of this part of the religious office. He likewise erected a temple to Vesta, and increased the number of Vestal virgins or priestesses, who had the guardianship of the sacred fire.

Among his institutions for the *government of the city*, one of the most important was his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. Previously to this they had been distinguished as two nations, the Sabines and Romans, who were perpetually quarrelling; but, by the new arrangement, the whole population being divided into small bodies, they lost the characteristics by which they had previously been separated, and lived together in tranquillity and happiness.

Numa also corrected the law which empowered fathers to sell their children for slaves; and directed that the boundaries of every man's possessions should be marked by means of stones. These stones he rendered sacred, by consecrating them to Jupiter Terminalis; and the person who demolished, or who wantonly displaced them, was considered guilty of sacrilege, and was liable to suffer death.

He effected a reformation in the *calendar*, by dividing the year into twelve months, according to the course of the moon; and, because the moon does not complete the number of thirty days in each month, he completed his years, by contriving what is called an intercalary month, which was inserted after that of February, in every other year.

In short, so beneficial were his institutions, and so prudent was his conduct, that during a reign of forty-three years, he preserved the country in peace and tranquillity. By his mildness, his equity, and benevolence, he calmed and softened the temper, not only of his own people, but of the inhabitants of the adjacent states. He, in a considerable degree, succeeded in civilizing that band of robbers which the Romans, till his time, must have been; and in introducing among them a love of tranquillity and order, of moderation and justice. Instead of the madness and misery of war, there now prevailed an ardent love of peace: the pursuits of agriculture had succeeded to those of rapine; and individual happiness and national piety were prevalent throughout the state. Numa was more than eighty years of age when he *died*; having, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, experienced, during all this time, neither infirmity nor misfortune; and at length expiring, worn out with age. His body was interred in a stone coffin, on one of the hills of Rome; and several books which he had written, on philosophy and religion, were buried, in another coffin, by his side*.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.*

* About five hundred years after his death, the body of Numa was, accidentally, dug up, and with it, his books are said to have been found. They, however, are stated to have been publicly burnt by order of the senate, for having contained many sentiments prejudicial to the religion, as it was at that time established.

LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.

A principal agent in the expulsion of the Tarquins from the throne of Rome, and one of the founders of the republic.

He was killed in battle, by Aruns, the son of Tarquin, in the year 244 of Rome, and 510 years before the birth of Christ.

THE *father* of this eminent Roman was Marcus Junius, a descendant from one of the chiefs of the colony which had been planted in Italy by Æneas: his mother was a sister of Tarquin the Proud.

Tarquin had usurped the crown of Rome, against the consent of the senate and the people. To obtain it he had murdered his father-in-law, his sister, and his wife; and his whole reign was marked by injustice and oppression. He had enslaved the people, slaughtered many of the nobility; and, despising the laws of the country, had appropriated their possessions to his own use.

Marcus Junius, his brother and eldest son, had all been privately murdered by command of the despot; and Lucius, whose talents and acquirements were much beyond those of his contemporaries in general, perceiving that the only mode by which he could escape destruction, was to affect a state of mental incapacity, assumed the manner and the character of an *idiot*. Thus, although he would have found no protection from justice, did he find security in contempt. *Tarquin*, despising his apparent imbecility, gave him the surname of *Brutus*, or “fool;” and suffered him to reside in the palace, for the amusement of his sons. Lucius had prudence enough to exhibit no symptoms of dislike, either to his name, or to the mode in which he was treated; but resolved, patiently to wait, in the hope that a time would arrive, when he could, with safety, throw off his dis-

guise, and not only liberate himself, but aid in liberating his country from the power of the tyrant.

Whilst he was in this state of servitude, a famine raged in Rome, so dreadful that Tarquin, alarmed lest his own family should suffer from it, was induced to send his sons to *Delphi*, with propitiatory offerings to Apollo, of immense value. Brutus accompanied them; and is said to have much amused the youths, by carrying, as an offering to that god, a staff formed of cornel wood. But they were ignorant that this staff was hollow, and contained a golden wand. "Thus (says Livy) was it an emblem of the state of his own mind: for, under a contemptible exterior, it concealed a treasure of great value." It is also related that the young men, anxious to ascertain, from the oracle, which of them should obtain the sovereignty of Rome, received, as an answer to their enquiry, that "the first who should kiss his mother should possess the supreme power." In their perplexity they are said to have drawn lots, for the purpose of determining which of them, on his return to Rome, should first salute his mother. But Brutus, supposing that the import of the prediction was not quite so obvious as the youths had imagined, fell, as if by accident, upon the ground, and touched, with his lips, the earth, as the common parent of all mankind.

Some time after this, *Sextus Tarquinius*, the eldest son of Tarquin, having used violence with *Lucretia*, the wife of his kinsman Collatinus, she was resolved not to survive the insult; but, after having declared the crime of Sextus, stabbed herself in the presence of her father, her husband, and several of the Roman nobles. Brutus, roused almost to madness, by this additional act of wickedness, elevated his hands towards heaven, in agony at the crime; declared that his character had hitherto been an *assumed one*, and that henceforth it was his determination to join his

countrymen in ridding themselves of their oppressors.

He accompanied Publius Valerius and some others to the house of Lucretia. The body was lying lifeless upon the floor. Brutus drew from the wound the poignard with which the unhappy lady had stabbed herself, and, exhibiting it to the assembled company, they all bound themselves by an oath, to *expel the Tarquin family* for ever from Rome; and thus to punish the authors of the many crimes that had been committed. The opportunity for this seemed a favourable one: Tarquin was himself employed in the siege of Ardea, a town about twelve miles distant from Rome; and, during his absence, the father of Lucretia had been entrusted with the government of the city.

At the suggestion of Brutus a guard was placed near the city gates, to prevent intelligence of their proceedings from being conveyed to Tarquin. He then proposed that the body, stained as it was with blood, should be conveyed into the forum, and exposed to the public view: that, when the people were assembled, the father and the husband of Lucretia should recount the particulars of her death; and, lastly, that himself and others should then rise up, inveigh against the tyranny of the Tarquins, and exhort the citizens to unite in obtaining their liberty.

Valerius suggested a difficulty, which he was fearful they could not overcome. He said that they were not empowered legally to assemble the people for the purpose of putting any public measure to the vote; but Brutus instantly replied: "I will assemble them. I am the commander of the Celeres*, and, as such, have a power, by law, of assembling the people. Tarquin invested me with this power, when he thought me a fool, and from a presumption that

* The Celeres were the Roman body-guards.

“ I should neither be sensible of the importance, nor know how to use it. I will assemble them, and will myself pronounce the first harangue against the tyrant.”

The requisite arrangements having been made, and prayers having been offered to the gods, for assistance in their just designs, the company proceeded to the forum. They were followed by the domestics of Collatinus, who carried, upon a bier, the body of Lucretia, covered with a black cloth and stained with blood. On their arrival at the place, it was exposed in a conspicuous situation, before the senate; and, the people being called together, an immense multitude was collected there, from all parts of the city.

Brutus ascended the tribunal from which it was customary to address the people. He stated to them that he had assumed the character of an idiot, as the only means of preserving his life; and he recounted the injuries which himself and his family had sustained from the wickedness of Tarquin, asserting that he had persevered in his disguise for five and twenty years, and that only, by so doing, he had been preserved from destruction. He asserted further, that Tarquin had obtained the sovereignty of Rome, contrary to the established laws and customs of the nation; and that, having been a scourge instead of a blessing to his subjects, he had surpassed, in haughtiness and oppression, all the tyrants by whom the world had hitherto been afflicted. He stated that were even Tarquin himself now to die, they might have three Tarquins, all of them even worse and more unprincipled than their father. He dwelt upon the particulars relative to the death of Lucretia, whose body lay dead before them; and he so wrought upon their feelings, that his whole speech was received by the people with loud and incessant acclamations. When he had finished, it was unanimously resolved that the Tarquins, and all their posterity,

should be banished not only from Rome, but from the Roman territory; and that the supreme power should, thenceforth, be vested in two persons, who should be chosen annually, and have the title of *consuls* or "counsellors."

In justification of this *dethronement of Tarquin*, it must be remarked not only that he had acted in an oppressive manner towards his subjects, that he had unjustly deprived many of them of their life, others of their freedom, and others of their property; but that he had usurped the throne: that, before his time, the Roman government had been a limited monarchy, consisting of a king, a senate, and the people; and that Tarquin, by assuming to himself the entire authority, and excluding the other two orders from any share in the government, had, illegally, converted it into a tyranny. It is remarked, by Livy, that Brutus would have acted in a manner very injurious to the public good, if, through an over anxious zeal for liberty, he had wrested the government from any other than from a prince like Tarquin; and, particularly, if, after having so done, he had given it into the hands of the Roman populace, whom he describes to have been a rabble of malefactors, slaves, and fugitives from other countries, and who would thus have only acquired the liberty of acting without restraint, under the protection of an inviolable asylum. Brutus, indeed, was sufficiently cautious not to give full power into the hands of those who, he was well aware, knew not how to benefit even themselves by the possession of it. The origin of *Roman liberty* is dated from this time, but rather on account of the consular power having been limited to the period of twelve months, than of any diminution having been made in the authority which had been possessed by the kings.

The assembly was dismissed, and the people were directed to hasten to the field where they had been accustomed to choose their magistrates, and there to

nominate the *consuls*. They did so, and the persons elected were Brutus and Collatinus.

Information of these proceedings having been conveyed to *Tarquin*, he took with him his two sons, Titus and Aruns, and rode, with all possible speed, to the city, in a hope that he might be able to stop the progress of the revolt. But, on his arrival there, he found the gates shut against him, and all the battlements occupied by armed men. He returned to to his camp; but, finding that the army also had joined in the revolt, he fled thence into Etruria.

One of the first acts of the consuls was to fill up the vacant places in the *senate*. They then increased the power of that body, by making the whole number three hundred instead of two hundred; and afterwards caused the people to take an oath never to recal the Tarquins; nor, in future, to suffer any person to assume the title of king.

Tarquin sent ambassadors to Rome, to propose terms of accommodation. These were all rejected; but, during the residence of the ambassadors in the city, they sought to effect a *counter-revolution*, by privately corrupting some of the principal persons. Among these were Titus and Tiberius, sons of Brutus; two Vitellii, Marcus and Marius, brothers of the wife of Brutus; and two Aquilii, Lucius and Marcus, sons of the sister of Collatinus.

It seems remarkable that the *sons of Brutus* could have been so much misled as to have become agents in endeavouring to restore a tyrant so detestable as Tarquin, and by whom their own family had been so deeply injured: and it seems still more remarkable that they should have been so blind to the virtues of their father, as thus to have acted in direct opposition to his proceedings. Had the project of Tarquin been effected, these youths would have been instrumental in the destruction of the senate and the people; and the life of their father would have been sacrificed to their treachery.

The plot, however, was discovered. The criminals were apprehended; and it was the duty of the consuls to *try them for the offence*, and to pronounce upon them the sentence of the law. Titus and Tiberius were first accused. What an afflicting situation for a parent, to sit in judgment upon his own children! Unanswerable proofs of their guilt were adduced; proofs which they did not even attempt to controvert. As soon as the trial was ended, a melancholy silence pervaded the assembly. A few of the senators, willing to favour Brutus, suggested the punishment of exile. The tears of Collatinus and of Valerius, gave some hope of mercy. But Brutus, calling upon each of his sons by name, said: "You, Titus, and you, Tiberius, make your defence to the charge adduced against you." They were thus questioned three times, but made no answer. Brutus, then turning to the lictors, firmly exclaimed: "Yours is the part that remains." The lictors seized the youths, stripped off their garments, and, having bound their hands behind them, first severely flogged, and afterwards beheaded them. All the spectators, Brutus excepted, are said to have turned their eyes aside, unable to endure so heart-rending a sight. He looked steadily and sternly upon his sons, until their punishment was complete. Then, says Plutarch, when their headless bodies were extended upon the ground, he departed, leaving to his colleague the completion of the business, and the whole assembly involved in horror and astonishment. It is, however, stated by Livy that, during the whole time of the execution, the countenance of Brutus betrayed the emotions of his heart, and that the feelings of the father often forced their way through the character of the magistrate.

This conduct of Brutus has been variously represented. Some writers have ranked him among the most illustrious of heroes; as one who restored liberty to his country, and secured it even

by the blood of his sons: others have considered that the excess of his resentment depressed his soul into insensibility. Some have represented the action as divine, and others have esteemed it savage and brutal. In fact, he had a most distressing task to accomplish. Gladly, no doubt, would he have forgiven the ingratitude of his sons towards himself; but he could not, with justice, protect them from the insulted laws of his country. Their guilt was clearly established; and, if they had not suffered the punishment due to their crime, there was no law by which other traitors could be punished. His resolute conduct proved the safety of the state: had he wavered, the government would have been overthrown; but, by his firmness, it was established. It is, however, undeniable, that his witnessing the execution was an unnecessary part of the ceremonial. After the conviction had taken place, and sentence had been pronounced, nothing further seems to have been requisite from him: he could then have departed from the tribunal, and have left the melancholy completion of the business to his colleague.

The Aquilii, the relations of Collatinus, were next brought before the tribunal; but Collatinus was desirous of treating them with lenity. Valerius, by whom they had been apprehended, called for Brutus. Much confusion having, for some time, prevailed, Brutus at length returned, and the people appealed to him. They requested his interference, and demanded justice against the Aquilii, as well as against the youths who had already suffered. He, however, replied: "It is sufficient for me to have pronounced judgment on my own sons: I must leave these to the judgment of the people." The subject was put to the vote, and they were unanimously condemned to die.

The conduct of *Collatinus*, on this occasion, gave so much offence, that Brutus declared he would cause him to be deprived of the magistracy. The effect

of this threat was, that he abdicated the consulate, and Publius Valerius was elected in his stead.

Tarquin, disappointed in all his hopes, resolved, as a last resource, to seek for success in open war. He induced the inhabitants of Veii and Tarquinia, two cities of Etruria, to espouse his cause; and, having assembled a considerable force, he advanced into the Roman territories. The consuls marched out to give him battle; Valerius having the command of the infantry, and *Brutus* of the cavalry. The cavalry of the enemy was commanded by *Aruns*, one of the sons of *Tarquin*. When the armies were drawn up for battle, *Aruns* advanced in front of the ranks, and, approaching the Roman lines, uttered the most irritating and abusive language against *Brutus*; and finally challenged him to decide the fate of Rome by single combat. Deaf to the entreaties and the remonstrances of his friends, *Brutus* rushed out from the ranks; and *Aruns*, urging on his horse, with all his force, to meet him, they each received his adversary's spear, through the shield, into his body. The chests of the horses came in contact, by the violence of the motion; the animals reared, and, throwing back their heads, flung their riders upon the ground, where they lay struggling in agony, whilst streams of blood issued from their wounds.

No sooner had the leaders fallen, than the two armies, with a tremendous shout, rushed into combat. A dreadful carnage ensued; for the combatants were separated only by the close of day. They then retired to their camps; but *Valerius*, in the night, marched out, surprised the forces of *Tarquin*, and obtained over them a *signal victory*.

The *body of Brutus*, adorned with crowns in token of his bravery, was carried into Rome, by the most distinguished of the Roman officers. It was met by the senate, accompanied by nearly the whole populace of the city, who had prepared, for the refreshment of the army, tables spread with food and bowls of wine.

Valerius, the surviving consul, entered the city in triumph. On the ensuing day, he appeared in a mourning habit; and, having caused the body of Brutus to be properly adorned, and placed, in the forum, upon a magnificent bier, he assembled the people, and pronounced over it a funeral oration.

Thus died Lucius Junius Brutus, who subverted the Roman monarchy, and was himself the first consul. Though it was late before he attained distinction, and though he flourished but a short time, (not quite twelve months,) yet he acquired a celebrity which will endure to the latest period of history. By the Romans his *character* was regarded with so much admiration, that the matrons unanimously agreed to wear mourning for him, a whole year, in the same manner as for their nearest relatives; and a *statue of brass* was erected to his memory in the capitol, commemorative of his having been the founder of the Roman commonwealth.

Authorities.—*Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, and Plutarch,* in the life of Publicola.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.

An eminent Roman statesman and commander; one of the founders of the Republic.

He died about the year 250 of the city, and 503 years before the time of Jesus Christ.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS, who was descended from an ancient and honourable *family* in Rome, was distinguished for his eloquence and wealth. The former he is said to have employed in defence of the op-

pressed, and the latter in relief of those who were in need.

The earliest circumstance that is recorded of him, is his having been requested, after the expulsion of Tarquin, to assume the *temporary government of Rome*, for the purpose of arranging the establishment of a republic. Plutarch says that he was invited to accept the government, but that he yielded it in favour of his friend, Lucius Junius Brutus. He expected to have been chosen one of the first consuls, but was disappointed. He, however, continued firm in the cause of the republic, was active in suppressing all conspiracies against it, and in frustrating all attempts for the restoration of the tyrant. Notwithstanding this, the people imagined that, because he had not experienced any personal injury from Tarquin, he might, possibly, be induced to retrace his steps, and to part take with the man in whose dethronement he had been one of the most active agents. He considered himself insulted by their suspicions, withdrew from the senate, forbore to attend the meetings at the forum, and, for a while, refused all concern in the public affairs.

Brutus, however, though he was not without suspicion of some other persons, had full confidence in Valerius; and he resolved to try the fidelity of the senators by the test of an oath, which he proposed they should take, on a particular day of solemn sacrifice. At the time appointed, Valerius was the first to enter the forum, and to make oath, that he never would assent to any terms of agreement with Tarquin; but that, with his sword, he would maintain the Roman liberty to the utmost of his power.

In the memoir of Brutus it has been stated that ambassadors from Tarquin endeavoured to effect a *counter revolution* in favour of their master, by corrupting some of the Roman youth; particularly two sons of Brutus, two young men of the family of Vitellii, and two of the Aquilii.

These met, by appointment, in a dark and retired apartment, for the purpose of consulting respecting the manner in which the restoration of Tarquin might be effected. But a slave, named *Vindicius*, happening to be in the apartment, when they entered, was alarmed at the caution which he saw adopted; and, fearful respecting his own safety, concealed himself behind a chest. Here he heard the conspirators declare an intention to attempt the assassination of the consuls, and saw them write letters on the subject. These, as he understood, were to be sent to Tarquin by the ambassadors. As soon as the business was concluded, they withdrew, and *Vindicius*, after some time deliberating in what manner to act, hastened to *Valerius*, and related to him the occurrence. Overwhelmed with astonishment, *Valerius* shut the man up in a room, and left his wife to guard the door. He then ordered his brother to surround the late king's palace with troops, to seize his papers, and secure his servants; whilst, with another body of troops, he proceeded to the house of the *Aquili*. Here he obtained possession of the very letters which the slave had mentioned. *The Aquili* endeavoured to escape; but, after much struggling, *Valerius* secured them by twisting their gowns around their necks, and thus dragging them through the streets, to the forum. The brother of *Valerius* was also successful at the palace; for there, many other letters were found, and several of the royal servants were secured.

The particulars of the *trial* and condemnation of *the conspirators* have already been related, together with the circumstances which induced *Collatinus* to abdicate the consulship*.

After the resignation of *Collatinus*, a new election took place, and *Valerius* was declared *consul*.

* See the memoir of *Lucius Junius Brutus*, p. 15.

This was considered as only a proper return of gratitude for his late zeal and his important services in favour of the republic.

Whilst these proceedings were taking place in Rome, *Tarquin*, having no alternative left but that of open war, induced the inhabitants of some neighbouring cities to join him, in endeavouring to recover his former rights. At the head of a powerful force, he marched towards his late capital. The consuls, Brutus and Valerius, led out the Roman troops to oppose him; and, after a dreadful conflict, in which Brutus, and about eleven thousand troops were slain, the Romans proved victorious, and *Tarquin* and his allies were *totally routed*.

Valerius collected the spoils, and returned with them in *triumph* to Rome. After this success, the *populace* began to imagine that he might possibly apply his influence over the army in endeavouring to make himself a king. They pretended to ground their opinion on the facts, that, in the place of Brutus, he had not hitherto demanded the election of a consul; and that he had built a *house* too superb for a citizen; and in a situation, on the summit of Mount *Velia*, so lofty that it overlooked and commanded the forum.

In this instance Valerius considered it better to submit to the will of the people than to resist. He immediately fixed a day for the election of a consul; and having caused the people to be assembled, he thus addressed them: "Fellow citizens, the house of
" Publius Valerius shall no longer be an obstruction to
" your freedom. The *Velian Mount* shall be secure to
" you. I will not only bring my house to the plain,
" but I will fix it beneath the hill, that your dwelling
" may overlook that of our suspected countryman;" or, says *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, "that you may
" stone me from the hill, if you find me guilty of any
" crime."

He collected an immense number of workmen,

and, in one night, demolished his house. When, in the morning, the Romans beheld the havoc that had been made, they unanimously extolled the magnanimity of Valerius; but all sensible men were grieved to see so magnificent an edifice ruined by the envy of the citizens; and to behold their consul compelled, by an absurd caprice, to seek for shelter in the dwelling of another man.

Valerius, however, appears to have been a deep and skilful *politician*. His experience had fully instructed him what kind of a people he had to manage; and, by this and *other concessions*, such as ordering the axes to be taken out of the fasces, that they might not, as before, terrify the beholders; and commanding the lictors to lower them in the assemblies of the people, by way of homage to their power, he obtained so great an influence over them, that they seem, afterwards, to have submitted implicitly to his will, on almost all occasions. As a recompence for his obedience to their wishes, they honoured him with the surname of *PUBLICOLA*, signifying “a man esteemed by the people;” and by this name he was ever afterwards distinguished.

He occasioned some beneficial *laws* to be enacted, and some which were excessively severe. Among the latter was one which was liable to great abuse: it authorized the killing of any man who should attempt to assume the regal office. The person who committed the act, was to be exempt from punishment, if he could bring proof of such intention in the man whom he slew.

Tarquin, after his defeat, fled for protection to *Laras Porsena*, king of *Clusium*, at that time the most powerful prince in Italy, and a man eminent both for valour and integrity. Commiserating the situation of a monarch excluded from his throne, Porsena not only promised him assistance, but intimated to the Romans, that, if they did not restore to him his rights and dignity, he would march an

army immediately to Rome. Publicola was, at this time, absent from the city; and the senate and the people were all excessively terrified. Fearing lest the populace, in their terror, might once more submit to a regal government, the senate again elected Publicola to the office of *consul*, and adopted the most conciliatory measures towards the people, to preserve unanimity in the state.

The proposition made by *Porsena* being rejected, that prince assembled his troops, and *marched towards the city*. The Roman forces, headed by the two consuls, were drawn up near the bank of the Tiber, at a little distance from the city gates. Here they were attacked by the enemy. In the encounter, Publicola and his colleague were both severely wounded; and it was only by an astonishing effort of personal bravery that the city was preserved. The courage of the Romans wholly forsook them, and they retreated within their walls for security. The enemy pursued them to their entrenchments, and would have entered the city, had they not, at a wooden bridge over the river Tiber, been stopped by only three persons, *Horatius Cocles*, and two other men of rank. Cocles was on guard at the bridge. All the Romans, except two, were so cowardly as to pass him. As soon as they had passed, Cocles advanced to the entrance, and called aloud to those in the rear, to break down the bridge. He was posted in a situation so advantageous, that, although the javelins of the enemy were poured thick upon him, he was enabled to guard himself with his shield, and he undauntedly kept his post. The enemy, by a sudden and furious onset, were about to push him, from his station, into the river, when the sudden crash of the falling bridge, and, at the same instant, a tremendous shout raised by the Roman soldiers, on accomplishing their object, filled his opponents with dismay, and deterred them from their purpose. Cocles then, though clad in armour, plunged into the

Tiber, and swam to the city. Grateful for this unexpected rescue, the Romans passed a decree that every citizen should give to him one day's provision: that he should be rewarded with as much land as he could plough round in a day; and that a brazen statue should be erected of him, in the temple of Vulcan.

Porsena, unable to take the city by force, drew his army around it in the hope of being able to reduce it by famine. But, afterwards, becoming disgusted with the conduct of Tarquin, a reconciliation was effected betwixt him and the Romans, and a *treaty of peace* was agreed upon. As a security for fulfilling the conditions of the peace, ten young men and as many females, of the highest families in Rome, were given by the Romans as hostages. Among the latter was Valeria, the daughter of Publicola. On the faith of the treaty that had been made, Porsena ceased from all acts of hostility; and the *Roman virgins* were so far permitted to have their liberty, that they could bathe unmolested in the Tiber. One day they swam over the river, encouraged by a virgin named Clœlia, who passed over, on horseback, before the rest. When they had reached the opposite shore, they hastened to the house of Publicola. He, however, extremely disapproved of their daring enterprise; and, lest their escape should cause the Romans to be suspected of dishonourable conduct, he immediately sent them all back. Tarquin endeavoured, but in vain, to intercept their return; and, on their arriving in the presence of Porsena, the latter commanded one of his own horses, furnished with elegant trappings, to be brought out and presented to Clœlia, as a recompence for her valour. The Romans rewarded so extraordinary an instance of female heroism with the honour of an equestrian statue.

After this event Porsena restored all the hostages, and told Publicola that he considered the Roman

probity as the best guarantee of the treaty: and he signalized his departure from the vicinity of Rome, by an act of peculiar liberality. He ordered his soldiers to leave their tents, their provisions and valuable effects, and to carry away with them nothing but their weapons. By this procedure Rome was much relieved in her wants; and the Romans, from this period, whenever any effects, belonging to the public, were sold, adopted a practice of proclaiming them by a herald, as "Porsena's goods."

In the ensuing year, they became involved in a *war with the Sabines*; and Marcus Valerius, acting under the advice and with the assistance of his brother Publicola, gained two important victories over them. For these he was rewarded with a triumph, and had a house built for him at the public expence, which, in one particular, was of unusual construction. The doors of all other houses opened inward; but the street-door of this house was made to open outward, as an indication that he was always ready to receive proposals for the public service.

The defeat of the Sabines by Marcus Valerius did not, however, reduce that people to submission. They subsequently entered into a confederacy with the *Latins*, for the purpose of attacking the Romans with their united forces. Appius Claudius, an opulent Sabine chief, of great personal valour, and famed for his virtues and for the force of his eloquence, but of harsh and violent disposition, opposed the war. His opponents asserted that he wished to strengthen the Roman power, for the purpose of enslaving his own country, and threatened him with impeachment. Publicola, who was now *consul for the fourth time*, having obtained intelligence of the proceedings that were about to be instituted, communicated the information to *Appius Claudius*, and invited him to Rome, under an engagement that he should there be received and treated in a manner

suiting to his rank and character. Appius accepted the invitation, and brought with him five thousand of the Sabines and their families. He was afterwards admitted to a seat in the senate, and rose to the highest rank in the republic.

Notwithstanding this defection, the *Sabines* advanced, with a powerful army. They ordered two thousand men to be placed in ambush, in shrubby and hollow places, near Rome, and directed a small party of horse-soldiers to ravage the suburbs, and then to retreat till they drew the Romans into the ambuscade. Publicola was not, however, thus to be ensnared. He arranged his forces in such manner as to surround these men; whilst, at the head of another part of the Roman army, he personally attacked the Sabine camp, and obtained a decisive victory. The town of *Fidenæ* only remained to be subdued. Publicola scaled the walls of it in person; and, on that side which was considered most impregnable; and thus obtained possession of it, almost without loss. Elated with these unexpected successes, and enriched with the plunder, and by the sale of the prisoners, (for it was the cruel practice of this period to sell the prisoners, for slaves,) the Romans honoured Publicola with a splendid triumph.

Having now attained the summit of his glory; having seen his country flourish, through the excellence of his legislation, and victorious through his courage and conduct; and, having himself been honoured with four consulships and two triumphs, this eminent Roman surrendered the administration to other hands, and *died* rich in reputation and honour. His death took place about two hundred and fifty years after the foundation of Rome, and five hundred and three years before the Christian era.

Publicola had had many opportunities of honourably amassing wealth, but his mind was superior to all the excitements of avarice. Contented with the small estate which he had inherited from his ancestors,

and leading a life of temperance and moderation, he was enabled, by means of this, to educate his children in a manner worthy of their birth; and to prove to the world, that he considered himself rich by wanting few things, and not by possessing many.

The expences of his *funeral* were defrayed by the public. His body was burnt, and the ashes were buried in a place, appointed for the purpose, near the foot of the Velian hill. Thousands of the people attended the ceremony; and the Roman matrons paid the same tribute of respect to his memory, which they had done to that of Lucius Junius Brutus, his colleague in the consulship.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.*

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

A Roman general, who received his surname for having taken Corioli, the capital of the Volscians; but who afterwards joined the Volsci against the Romans, and was assassinated for having, by the entreaty of his wife and mother, spared the Romans from a total defeat.

Died in the year 266 of Rome, and 487 years before Christ.

CAIUS MARCIUS, for that was his original name, was a man of noble *birth*, a descendant of the family of Marcii, which had supplied Rome with many illustrious patricians. Having been left a child, at his father's death, he had been *educated* by his mother, with great care. The management of him, however, had been attended with much difficulty; for his passions were violent, and he possessed a singular spirit of obstinacy and contention. It is true that he had many virtues, which tended to counterbalance these

defects; and, particularly, an ardent attachment to his mother, which, in some degree, alleviated the anxiety and the trouble which she experienced.

From the earliest dawn of his intellect, he had shown an extraordinary inclination to military affairs, and had expressed great delight in handling and playing with military weapons. During his *youth* he so prepared himself, by exercise, for every description of combat, that he became more vigorous and more powerful in body, than any of his companions.

He entered the *army* at an early age, and the first campaign in which he served was during the war with the Latins. In one of the battles with this people, he distinguished himself, by an act of valour, which obtained for him great celebrity. Seeing a Roman officer thrown down, he ran to his assistance, rescued him, and slew his adversary. This occurrence took place within sight of the dictator, who, after the battle, presented Marcius with an oaken crown; an honorary mark of distinction, which it was customary to bestow on such persons as had saved the lives of Roman citizens.

With Marcius this reward operated as a powerful stimulus to other actions, which, in a military officer, were considered meritorious. He was, ever afterwards, anxious not to disappoint the expectations which the public had formed concerning him; and was continually endeavouring to excel his former efforts, and meditating some more laborious achievement than he had before effected. About this period, the Romans fought several battles; and there was not one battle from which Marcius did not return without some mark of honorary distinction.

But, what the ancient historians say concerning him, is somewhat remarkable, that, although the end which others proposed in acts of valour was glory, he pursued glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother. For, when she was witness to

the applauses which he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him in tears of joy, then it was that he accounted himself at the height of honour and happiness. It must be remarked, in commendation of his filial piety, that he ever treated her with the utmost tenderness and respect. He married in compliance with her desire; and, even after he had children, he still continued to reside in her house.

The chief part of his life, however, was occupied in military pursuits. During a war of the Romans with the *Volsci*, he signalized himself in a peculiar manner. The former, under the consul Cominus, had besieged *Corioli*, the capital of the *Volsci*; and the *Volscian* legions, as their only hope of safety, gave battle to them under the walls of their city. The Romans were, at first, compelled to retreat towards their entrenchments. Caius Marcius, who happened to be on guard, rallied them, repelled the attack, and pursued the enemy to their gates. There, he was astonished to perceive that, terrified by a shower of arrows, which were thrown from the walls, most of the troops had discontinued the pursuit. He earnestly exhorted them not to forsake him now, in the moment of victory. A few of them following him, he broke through the ranks of the enemy, and pushed boldly forward into the city. Alarmed by so unexpected an effort of bravery, the *Volsci* fled on all sides. Had they acted with prudence, Marcius and his men might all have been destroyed; for, on halting his troops, after their arrival within the walls, he was astonished to see that he had but an inconsiderable number with him. At the head of his little force, however, he performed exploits of strength, of agility, and valour, that are almost incredible. He overpowered all who opposed him, and, in a short time, opened a passage, for *Lartius*, another of the Roman commanders, to join him. But his labours did not end here. A strong

body of the Volsci, joined by their allies, the Antiates, which had approached, with the intention of relieving the place, now seemed to meditate an attack on such of the Roman troops as had been left in their entrenchments. No sooner, therefore, had Caius Marcius secured the city, than he hastened to the relief of his comrades. His appearance startled them; for he was covered with dust, perspiration, and blood. But he soon relieved their fears respecting him, by stating that Corioli was taken, and that he had received no important injury. The soldiers now demanded to be led against the remaining troops of the Volsci. Caius Marcius was posted directly opposite to the centre of the enemy's army, and a sharp conflict ensued, in which the enemy were put to flight. During the pursuit, some of the Roman officers entreated of Marcius, now almost exhausted by wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. He replied: "It is not for conquerors to be fatigued," and still continued his exertions. At length the whole army of the Volsci was routed, with an immense loss both of men and treasure.

On the ensuing day, when the Roman troops were assembled, the consul mounted a rostrum, and, addressing himself particularly to Caius Marcius, detailed the valorous conduct, part of which he had himself witnessed. Then, out of the treasure, horses, and prisoners, that had been taken, he ordered, (before any distribution was made to the rest of the combatants,) that Marcius, as a recompence for his valour, should receive a horse, with noble trappings, and one tenth part of the whole plunder. But, anxious only for the reward of honour, he refused to accept of any thing but the horse, and an equitable share of the booty.

There was, however, one favour that he was anxiously desirous should be granted him. Among the Volsci he had had a friend, a man of virtue and honour, to whom he was bound by the sacred ties of

hospitality. This person, once in opulent circumstances, was now a prisoner, in the power of the Roman army; and of the many misfortunes under which he laboured, Marcius said he should be glad to rescue him from one, worse than all the rest, that of being sold as a slave. His request was immediately complied with, and the Volscian was restored to liberty.

Those persons who hitherto had been inclined to regard, with envy, the honours obtained by Caius Marcius, now began to consider him worthy of great rewards, and chiefly because he declined them. They were more surprised at the virtue which had led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than at the merit which gave him a title to them. His refusal excited, among the soldiers, the loudest clamours of approbation. When these had subsided, the consul said: "It is true, my fellow-soldiers, that you cannot force these gifts upon one who is so firmly resolved to refuse them, as Caius Marcius. Let us, then, give him that which it is not in his power to refuse. For his gallant conduct, in the taking of Corioli, let us pass a vote that he be called CORIOLANUS." The vote was instantly and unanimously passed, and thenceforth this was his surname.

Coriolanus was now at the summit of popularity. His character as a soldier, and his disinterested conduct as a citizen, had obtained for him the applause of the whole Roman people. But he was soon to precipitate himself from this towering height, and to be expelled, with disgrace, from his country.

Shortly after the termination of the Volscian war, the city of *Rome* was afflicted by a most distressing *famine*, occasioned partly by the devastations of the enemy, but chiefly by the dissensions which had prevailed among the people. In the preceding year, the inhabitants had been so much occupied in political squabbles, that many of the farmers had neg-

lected their proper occupations, and had left their land uncultivated. The consequences of this were first discord, then famine, and lastly war. The Volsci, who, but a short time before, had been totally vanquished, observing the Romans thus distressed, again prepared to attack them. Plutarch says: "The factious orators of that day, seeing that corn was not brought to market, and knowing that even if the market could be supplied, the people, in general, had but little money with which to purchase it, slanderously asserted, that the rich had occasioned the famine, for the purpose of revenging themselves by distressing the poor."

Coriolanus, however, succeeded in obtaining for them a supply. At the head of a band of volunteers, he entered the territories of the Antiates, and returned to Rome with an abundance of corn, and an immense number of cattle and slaves; the whole of which he gave up for the public use. The consequence was not, certainly, what ought to have been expected. The leaders of the people wholly misrepresent his conduct. They state that he had not acted with any view to the public good; but that he had courted popularity, for the selfish purpose of raising himself to power, and placing himself at the head of the people, to tyrannize over them. Not long after this, he was a candidate for the *consulship*. The services he had performed, and the numerous wounds that he had received in the cause of his country, inclined many persons to favour his election. But, when the day of election came, his being conducted into the Campus Martius, by the senate, and his having the support of many of the nobility, occasioned the tide of popular favour to be turned against him, and he was *rejected*.

Exasperated by treatment so ungenerous and unjust, he left the assembly, full of rancour against the people. The general character of Coriolanus was not, perhaps, such as to be greatly admired; but it is

certain that his opponents were not actuated by disinterested motives. Those who had been actively employed in exciting dissensions among the people, were not likely to favour a man who had been successful in defeating their foes, supplying their wants, and thus, in an essential degree, restoring unanimity in the state.

The passions of Coriolanus were so violent, and his resentment was so strong, that he was now led to act in a very unjustifiable manner. A large supply of bread-corn, partly purchased in Italy, and partly sent as a present from Sicily, had been brought to Rome. The senate was assembled for the purpose of deliberating in what manner it could best be distributed for relief of the people. Coriolanus stood up, and, in revenge for the mode in which he had been treated, he severely censured all those who had spoken in favour of the commonalty. He styled them demagogues, and traitors to the nobility: men who, to their own injury, were striving to undermine and destroy the rights of the patricians. He said that, having now rendered themselves formidable, they refused obedience to any superiors except those whom they called their "own magistrates." He advised the senate not to listen to any solicitations from the populace, respecting the distribution of the corn; and asserted that those who recommended this distribution, would encourage the insolence of the rabble, to the ruin of the constitution. He further stated, that if, in this instance, their wishes were complied with, they would consider the senate to be influenced by fear; and there would be no bounds to their insolence, and to their turbulent and seditious practices. As it may be imagined, much tumult was excited by a speech like this; and, though Coriolanus had the support of many of the nobility, the popular indignation was roused to such a degree, that a civil war appeared almost inevitable. To ap-

pease the fury of the people, it was requisite to compel him to take his *trial*, on an allegation that, in various particulars, he had violated the laws of his country. One of the charges alleged against him was, that he had endeavoured to induce the senate to destroy the liberties of the people, and to establish a tyranny in the state.

Coriolanus was summoned to make his defence. But he paid no regard to the summons, and even repulsed the officers who were sent to him. The tribunes became enraged at his opposition, and, taking with them the *ædiles*, went to seize him. When they approached him, Coriolanus was standing before the senate-house, attended by a great number of the patricians, and several of his friends. The *ædiles* attempted to lay hold of him; but the patricians, considering it insufferable that any one of their body should be given up to the tribunes, before he was tried, placed themselves before him, and, striking all who approached, drove them away. The intelligence of this conflict was soon communicated to every part of the city. All who were able to do so, flocked to the senate-house: the magistrates and men of rank, to protect Coriolanus, and the common people to aid the tribunes in apprehending him. Nothing decisive, however, took place on that day. On the ensuing morning, the people were assembled, by the tribunes, at the forum; and, after much invective against Coriolanus and the patricians, Minucius, the senior consul, ventured to speak to the people in his favour. Coriolanus himself addressed them; but in the most haughty and contemptuous manner imaginable. He did not deny a single allegation that had been made against him; nor did he, in any respect, seek to deprecate their anger. He said, "that those who pretended to be his judges, " had no lawful authority to try him; and that he " ought to be accused before the consuls: that he " had presented himself before the people, because

“ they had summoned him; but that he had appeared chiefly with a design to reprimand them for their illegal proceedings, and for the excesses of which they had been guilty.”

This haughty and inflexible conduct excessively irritated his judges, and he was *condemned to die*; but his sentence was afterwards changed to that of perpetual *banishment*. The nobility were both shocked and enraged at the result of the trial; for they had imagined that the people would not dare to punish a man so powerful, and who had performed such important services for the state, as Coriolanus.

He alone appeared to be unmoved and regardless of his fate. But his fortitude was not the effect of resignation; it was only assumed, and arose from an excess of resentment. His subsequent conduct proved this to have been the case, and that he was now actuated only by thoughts of revenge.

After the sentence had been communicated to him, he returned to his house, and, having embraced his wife and his mother, and recommended to them the care of his two children, he was conducted, by a party of the nobles, to the gate of the city. In his *banishment* he was accompanied by two or three adherents. He passed a few days, agitated by a thousand vexatious and resentful passions; and, at last, he determined to involve his country in all the horrors of another war. With this intention he proposed to throw himself on the protection of the Volsci, to whom his talents and character were well known. They were still powerful, both in men and money; and, in consequence of their recent defeats, were deeply exasperated against the Romans.

Having clad himself in such attire as was likely to conceal him from the notice of the Volscian soldiers, he went to *Antium*, a town of the Volsci, in a resolution to offer his services to Attius Tullus, a general of that nation, and highly distinguished by his rank, his wealth, and his valour. He was aware that Tul-

lus could entertain no opinions favourable respecting him as a friend, for they had often encountered each other in war; yet he well knew that this chieftain was desirous of retaliating, upon the Romans, part of the injuries which he and his country had suffered.

It was evening when Coriolanus entered Antium; and though many people met him in the streets, no one recognized him. He passed on to the house of Tullus, where he arrived undiscovered. He entered, and, hastening to the hearth, the place which was esteemed sacred, in consequence of the images of the domestic gods being always kept there, he seated himself; at the same time covering his face, and, immersed in thought, remaining almost motionless. The servants were astonished at the appearance of such a figure, and at such conduct. They did not attempt to disturb him; but, hastening to Tullus, who was at supper in another room, they related to him the occurrence.

Tullus approached the stranger, and, attentively beholding him, enquired, Who he was, and upon what business he had come thither. Coriolanus, uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then said: “If, Tullus, you do not know me, I must, of necessity, be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius—
“ who have brought so many calamities upon the
“ Volsci. In recompence for all the labours and all
“ the dangers I have experienced, I am now expelled
“ from Rome. The envy and outrage of the people,
“ the treachery of the magistrates, and the coward-
“ ice of the nobles, have driven me from my country,
“ and I am come to you, not a suppliant for shelter
“ and protection, (for I should not have come hither
“ had I been afraid of death,) but for vengeance
“ against my enemies. If you are disposed to at-
“ tack the Romans, avail yourself of my misfor-
“ tunes: assure yourself, brave Tullus, that I shall
“ fight for you, with more zeal than I have ever

“ fought against you. But, if you refuse my aid, I
“ do not desire to live; nor can I ask you to protect
“ one who has been your enemy in the field, and
“ who, otherwise, is unable to render you any ser-
“ vice.”

With this conduct, dishonourable and disgraceful as it was, Tullus was delighted. He took Coriolanus by the hand, and, in the name of the whole Volscian nation, declared that he would gladly accept his services.

The long-protracted *contests betwixt the commons and the nobility* of Rome, had been the cause of incessant disunion and unhappiness in the state; and the condemnation of Coriolanus had had no tendency to heal their animosities. On the contrary, the utmost confusion now prevailed. Coriolanus, on being informed of this, was prepared to take every advantage of it. The *command of the Volscian army* was given to him and to Tullus; and, as it was important that their operations should be commenced without delay, Coriolanus left to the magistrates the task of completing the army, and himself hastened, at the head of a small but select force, into the Roman territory. By so prompt and unexpected a movement, he was enabled to overrun and take possession of a considerable part of it, and to obtain so much plunder, that the Volsci found it difficult to convey the whole of it away. But this was a very unimportant part of the object that he had in view. He was chiefly anxious to increase the disunion in the state, by rendering the people more suspicious of the nobility than they had before been. For this purpose, while he ravaged nearly the whole country, he artfully spared the lands of the nobles. In so doing, he little contemplated or cared for the effect which might be produced against even those very friends who had been his firmest and most ardent supporters.

The consequence was precisely what he had ex-

pected. The patricians had accused the plebeians of having unjustly driven Coriolanus from Rome; and the plebeians retorted the accusation, and reproached the patricians with having brought Coriolanus upon them, for the purpose only of gratifying their revenge.

Having so far effected his purpose; and having also inspired the Volscian troops with courage not only to meet, but to despise the Roman soldiers, he drew off his men without loss. Not long afterwards, he led the main body of the Volscian army into the field, while Tullus continued in the rear, with the reserve. The latter provided for the defence of the towns within the Volscian territory, and supplied the troops with ammunition and stores for the campaign. Indeed, it would have been extremely imprudent in him to have marched into the Roman territory, and to have left Coriolanus, (who might possibly have been only a pretended friend,) at the head of an army in the interior of the Volscian territory. It was, however, the interest of Coriolanus to prove faithful to the Volsci. He, consequently, *marched towards Rome*, and, within a short period, made himself master of all those places which the Romans had taken from the Volsci. He then entered Latium, which submitted to him; and he at length laid seige to Rome.

During his whole progress, and even until his arrival at the very gates of the capital, the common people continued to impede all the measures of the government. Every thing was in disorder. The Roman soldiers refused to fight, even for the safety of the city; and the majority of the people passed nearly their whole time, in cabals and seditious speeches—in complaints and recrimination.

The folly of their conduct respecting Coriolanus was now fatally experienced. All parties became excessively terrified: the very men who had expelled him from the city, would, at this moment, have

crouched at his feet. It was, therefore, unanimously resolved that he should be intreated to forgive them, and *invited to return to Rome*. For this purpose two deputations were sent to him; the first consisting of consulars; and the other of the ministers of the gods, in their sacred habits. The latter were conducted, through the Volscian ranks, to the headquarters of the army. Coriolanus, surrounded by the principal nobility of the Volsci, received them sitting, and treated them with excessive austerity. He not only refused to forsake the Volsci, but insisted on the most exorbitant conditions of peace. The Romans, though, apparently, on the very brink of ruin, were resolved not wholly to degrade themselves. They rejected the conditions proposed by Coriolanus; and resolved to defend their city to the last extremity, though there seemed but little probability of their being able to save it from destruction.

At this period of public distress, the *Roman matrons* went, in a body, to Volumnia the mother, and Vergilia the wife of Coriolanus*, and entreated that they would intercede with him to save his suffering country from ruin. They assented to the wishes of the people. Clad in the deepest mourning, Volumnia, accompanied by several other matrons, conducted Vergilia, and the two sons of Coriolanus, to the Volscian camp. On their arrival, the appearance of these afflicted females excited, even in the soldiers, the strongest emotions of compassion. Coriolanus was seated in state, among his principal officers, when the females were introduced. His astonishment at such a procession, headed by his mother and his wife, may well be imagined. Notwithstanding his general inflexibility of temper, and the peculiar situation in which he was placed, he was unable to resist the emotions of affection. He left his seat,

* Livy calls the mother Veturia and the wife Volumnia.

and ran to embrace first his mother, and then his wife and children. Volumnia expressed the deepest regret, that the Romans should have banished him from their city; and her unhappiness in now beholding him encamped, as an enemy, before its walls. In an agony of distress, she asserted that herself, his wife, and children must, shortly, see either him or their country perish. “When you came within sight of Rome, (said she,) did it not occur to you that, within those walls, were your house and guardian gods, your mother, your wife, and your children? Had I never been a mother, then Rome would not now have been besieged: had I not had a son, I might have died free, and have left my country free; but there is no suffering to which I can be exposed, that will not reflect more dishonour on you, than misery on me: and, be my lot as wretched as it may, I will not endure it long. If I am unable to persuade you to prefer friendship and union, to enmity and all its ruinous consequences, you will not advance further against your country, without trampling upon the dead body of her to whom you owe your being: believe me, I will not wait for that day when either my son shall be led captive by his fellow citizens, or shall triumph over Rome. I desire nothing that can be dishonourable to you. I wish not to save my country by ruining the Volsci, those who have placed confidence in you: I only desire a deliverance, that will be equally salutary to both, the blessings of peace and of friendship.”

Coriolanus raised his wife and mother from the ground, and exclaimed: “You have gained a victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me. I am vanquished by you alone.” He well knew that the Volsci would never forgive any favour he might show to their enemies, and he was unable to liberate himself from their power. His dread of their resentment did not, however, prevent him, after

having sent back his family in safety to Rome, from drawing off the Volscian troops, and *retreating with them to Antium*.

To Coriolanus the result was fatal. Tullus, enraged at the return of his troops, and fearful of success in any attempt to bring the offender to justice, resolved to rid himself of him by assassination. Having hired a band of men in whom he could place confidence, he demanded of Coriolanus to surrender the command of the Volscian army, and to give a public account of his conduct. An assembly was called, for the apparent purpose of trying him; and, in a tumult that was intentionally excited, the assassins rushed upon and *murdered him*.

The Volsci, as a people, expressed great abhorrence at so cowardly and so iniquitous a procedure. Whilst the body lay stretched upon the ground, in the forum, great multitudes collected round it, to bewail the death of a man, who, notwithstanding all his faults, had so essentially benefitted their nation. They afterwards assembled, from several cities, to honour him with a *public funeral*. They put on him his general's robes, and placed him on a magnificent bier. This was carried by such officers of the Volscian army as had been distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils he had obtained from the Romans, the various crowns he had gained, and the plans and models of the cities he had taken. When placed upon the funeral pile, several victims were slain in honour of him; and after the body was consumed, the ashes were collected and buried on the spot where the pile had stood. The multitude assisted in raising over them a lofty mound; and a magnificent tomb, adorned with military trophies, and with spoils of various kinds, was afterwards erected to his memory.

The Roman women, at their own request, were permitted to wear mourning for him ten months; and the Romans, as a monument of the meritorious

conduct of the matrons, erected and dedicated a temple to Female Fortune, on the very spot where the mother of this hero had prevailed with him to save his country from ruin.

If we except the filial affection of Coriolanus, we shall find, in his *character*, little to admire, and much to blame. It may be true that, in early life, he was superior to most of those pleasures which too often tyrannize over youth; but he was, at the same time, headstrong and untractable. In his general conduct he was haughty, forbidding, and revengeful: his ambition was unbounded; and he suffered his passions to act without controul. The latter were the cause of nearly every unhappiness he experienced, and eventually led him into proceedings which only terminated with his death.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.*

LUCIUS QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS.

An illustrious Roman of patrician family, who was contented to live on a small farm; and who was even called from the plough to be consul and dictator.

He died about the year 316 of the city, and 438 years before Christ.

THE *Quintian family*, from whom Cincinnatus was descended, was allied to many of the noblest and most illustrious members of the Roman senate. Unambitious, however, of those honours which, in general, are highly esteemed and ardently sought by mankind; and devoted to a life of peace and retirement, he passed much of his time at a small paternal *farm* which he possessed, near the bank of the Tiber,

opposite to Rome. At this farm he educated his son, Cæso Quintius, who is described to have been elegant in his person, of distinguished bravery, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprising.

Cæso took so decided a part with the Roman nobility against the plebeians; inveighed, on all occasions, so bitterly, against their proceedings; and, in various respects, gave them so much offence, that the tribunes resolved, if possible, to punish him, lest his conduct should operate as an example to other Roman youth. They accused him of crimes against the state;—of a conspiracy, with the patricians, to destroy the tribunes, and put the people to the sword. But they were unable to establish any proof of his criminality. Evidence was then offered, to prove that he had been guilty of murder; but this evidence was afterwards shown to have been false. The trial was, for the present, deferred; security, to a great amount, being taken for his appearance at a future day. On the day appointed he did not appear: he was, consequently, condemned to perpetual banishment, and his securities were forfeited.

The conduct of Cincinnatus, on this occasion, has been universally admired. He *sold the greatest part of his property*, and, from the produce, repaid, to the sureties, the sums in which they had been bound; leaving nothing to himself but his cottage, and about four acres of land, which were afterwards distinguished by the name of the “*Quintian Meadow.*” In this cottage he continued to reside; and he supported himself and his wife on the produce of his labour. Thus did he subject himself to a life of penury, rather than his family should be disgraced by any supposed deficiency on the part of his son. His detestation of the conduct of the Romans respecting his son, is, however, imagined to have had so powerful an influence on his mind, that, for some time, he refused even to visit the city.

Such was, at this period, the inefficient state of the Roman government, that four thousand five hundred fugitive *slaves*, headed by a Sabine, named Herdonius, having, during the night, *surprised the capitol* and the adjoining fortress, entertained hopes, through the assistance of the Roman slaves, and by the populace declaring in their favour, to obtain possession of the city. The consuls, alarmed lest a general insurrection of the plebeians might follow, did not dare to distribute arms among the people. They were also fearful lest this procedure might have been adopted in conjunction with their enemies, the Volsci and Æqui. The consul Valerius succeeded, indeed, in retaking the capitol; but, in the act of recovering it, he was killed.

Notwithstanding the disgrace which, in the minds of the people, had fallen upon Cæso, they highly revered the character of his father. The talents and the integrity of Cincinnatus were well known. It was consequently resolved, if possible, to draw him, from his seclusion, to the duties of the state. He was elected *consul*, in the room of Valerius; and the senate sent a deputation, to desire that he would immediately come to Rome, for the purpose of taking possession of the magistracy. The deputies found him in the act of ploughing his land, without a vest, his waist girded, and a cap on his head. Observing several persons enter the field, he stopped his plough, unable to conjecture what their business with him could be. One of them approached, and, having requested that he would clothe himself in a more becoming manner, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the senate, he retired into his cottage. On his return they saluted him, not by his name, but as consul; and, having clad him in the consular robe, and placed before him the axes and other ensigns of his office, they requested him to follow them to the city. He did so, but not without unaffected regret at exchanging his humble cottage for a palace,

and his quiet and domestic pursuits, for the troubles and the honours of the state. He was now in his fifty-eighth year.

On *entering upon his office*, the plebeians were fearful lest they should feel the weight of his vengeance, in return for their conduct towards his son. He freely and justly censured them; but his censures were as severe against the senate as the people. By the indolence and negligence of the senate, he said, the tribunes, whose office had now become perpetual, had been permitted to exercise almost sovereign authority. He asserted that "the government could no longer be considered a republic of Roman citizens, but as an ill-regulated family: that, with his son Cæso, fortitude, constancy, and every qualification which gives ornament to youth, either in war or in peace, had been banished from the city; while mere declaimers, men despicable for their seditious propensities, and for exciting dissensions in the state, twice, and even thrice re-elected tribunes, had been enabled to excite general unhappiness by their pernicious practices, and in the exercise even of regal tyranny."

For some time he experienced great opposition, both from the tribunes and the people; but this did not prevent him from acting with that firmness, for which his whole character was remarkable. The incessant commotions in the state were such as might have deterred a man of less powerful mind than his, from fully performing his duty. This, however, he is believed to have done; and, by so doing, he overawed the disaffected, suppressed the rising seditions, and kept all parties at peace.

In the tribunals of justice, he acted with equal integrity, prudence, and mercy; and his decisions were so equitable, that they were, in general, assented to, even by the parties against whom they were given. He was easy of access, mild and humane towards all.

By conduct of this description he greatly raised the character of the aristocracy, in the public estimation: the prejudices which had existed against himself, gradually vanished; and he at length received the merited applause of all classes. Indeed, so great became his popularity, that, at the expiration of his office, the consulate was offered to him a second time. He, however, not only refused to accept it, but he severely reprovèd the senate for the offer: it was a breach of their own decree, that no citizen should serve the same office for two successive years. After this he *returned to his cottage*, and contentedly resumed his former tranquil and unambitious pursuits.

About twelve months after this, and in the year of the city, 295, during a *war with the Æqui and the Sabines*, the consul, Minutius, had the imprudence to suffer his army to be led into a valley, where it was surrounded by a superior force of the Æqui; and the other consul, being employed against the Sabines, was unable to afford him any relief. In this emergency it was considered requisite to create a *dictator*; and no man appeared, in the general estimation, so fitted to this office as Cincinnatus; he was, consequently, appointed.

Deputies from the senate, in this as in the former instance, were sent to announce to him his appointment. These found him engaged in the occupations of husbandry. At their approach he retired into his house; and, having clad himself in more becoming apparel, than that which he had previously worn, he went to meet them. They presented to him horses decked with magnificent trappings, placed before him the four-and-twenty axes with the rods, clothed him in a purple robe, and announced to him that he had been selected, in the present adverse state of public affairs, to fill the office of dictator. This high office, which would have been so desirable to many, was to him a source of grief. He well knew

all the responsibility, and all the difficulties that were attached to it. But, when his country demanded his services, Cincinnatus was too sincere a patriot to refuse them.

A vessel had been prepared, by order of the government, to convey him across the river. On landing near Rome, he was received first by his relatives and friends, and afterwards by a great number of the patricians. Accompanied by this retinue, and having the lictors marching in state before him, he was conducted to his appointed residence.

The spirits of the Romans had been deeply depressed; but Cincinnatus revived their hopes. He taught them to believe that, with courage and unanimity, all would yet be well. It was, however, requisite that they should act with promptness and decision. He issued a proclamation, ordering an immediate suspension of all proceedings in the courts of justice, the shops to be shut, and all the citizens, capable of bearing arms, to assemble in the Campus Martius, before sun-set, each with five day's provisions, and twelve stakes for a palisade. His orders were punctually obeyed. The forces were drawn up; and the dictator marched at the head of the infantry, and his general of horse as the commander of the cavalry. Cincinnatus halted as soon as he perceived that he was near the enemy. In the obscurity of the night he examined, as well as he was able, the state of the enemy's camp. As soon as he had ascertained this, he ordered his men to heap all their baggage into one place, and then to return to their ranks, with the stakes they had brought from Rome. This done, he caused them to invest one side of the enemy's camp; and, at an appointed signal, every man began to dig a trench before him, and to plant his stakes. The enemy made an effort to interrupt the works which the dictator had begun. This enabled the forces under Minutius to act; and the enemy, after a vain struggle to liberate themselves from the

difficulties by which they were embarrassed, being destitute of provisions, and despairing of relief, sent to Cincinnatus a deputation to sue for peace, which, on conditions advantageous to the Romans, was granted. His success being complete, he returned to Rome, and triumphed with greater splendour than any preceding general; for, within the short space of sixteen days, he had rescued the Roman consul and legions from a state of extreme distress, and had defeated a numerous and powerful army. The senate decreed that, on his arrival in Rome, he should enter the city in *triumph*, without changing the order of his march. The generals of the enemy's army were led, in chains, before his chariot, accompanied by the military ensigns; and his own troops followed, laden with spoil. It is stated that tables were spread with provisions before every house, for the refreshment of his men, after their toils.

The consul Minutius was deposed, as unequal to fulfil the duties of the command to which he had been appointed; and was reduced to the rank of a lieutenant-general.

The army voted, to the dictator, the reward of a golden crown, a pound in weight, and saluted him as their patron and preserver. And the senate, considering it disgraceful to the state that so eminent a man should pass his old age in poverty, entreated of him to accept whatever quantity of land he chose, from the conquered lands of the enemy, and that he would allow them to supply him with money and cattle sufficient to stock it. His friends also offered him valuable presents, wishing it to be considered that the favour would be esteemed in the receiving, not the giving of them. His independent spirit would not, however, permit him to receive any favour. But, after thanking them for these marks of their attachment, and these tokens of satisfaction for the services he had been able to perform, he assembled the people, and having rendered to them an

account of his administration, he resigned the dictatorship, after having held it only three weeks. He had been solicitous only for the public good: his own aggrandizement constituted, in no degree, the foundation of his actions; and, consequently, to have retained his office for the full period to which he might have held it, was not an object at all desirable by him. With the satisfaction of a mind conscious of its own integrity, and wholly free from ambitious desires, he returned to his farm, and willingly exchanged even princely honours for manual labour; glorying more in his poverty and independence, than others did in their wealth and their rank.

The only favour he would accept from the public, was a revocation of the unjust sentence which had been pronounced against his *son*. Nor ought this to have been considered a favour, for it was proved that Volscius, one of the tribunes, the man on whose evidence he had been convicted, had been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury.

In the following year, the united forces of the *Sabines and Æqui* made another irruption into the Roman territory, plundering and destroying the property of the inhabitants, through the whole line of their march. The senate, desirous of checking their progress, resolved that the consuls should immediately take the field and march against them. This plan was strongly opposed by the tribunes of the people. More anxious for the extension of their own power and privileges, than for the welfare of the country, they refused their consent, unless the senate would first agree to pass a law, increasing their number from five to ten. The senate would not do this, as they considered it would be giving too great a preponderance to the popular branch of the legislature, already so powerful as to be almost beyond controul. The most violent commotions ensued, during which, the territories, both of the Romans and their allies, were alike laid waste and plundered.

The enemy rendered desert, all the country through which they passed, in a confidence that no army would be sent against him, during the contests which they knew to be raging in the city. Notwithstanding the distress into which the country was thus plunged, the tribunes persisted in their opposition. The state of the public affairs at length became so critical, that Cincinnatus was induced again to appear in the senate. He entreated that the tribunes would, for the present, defer the consideration of the law; as the enemy was almost at their gates, and ought to be immediately opposed. The tribunes were not, however, to be shaken in their projects, by any concern for the public welfare; and the senate, fearful of the consequences of further delay, were obliged to yield their consent. Having thus succeeded in their designs, the tribunes completed the levies, and the consuls, being enabled to march against the enemy, drove them out of the country.

From this period, for nearly twenty years, Cincinnatus was induced frequently to engage in the affairs of the state; and his conduct was invariably marked by anxiety for the public welfare; and by mildness, and equity towards the people. In more than one instance he saved the lives of even those furious tribunes, who had headed the party which was in opposition to himself.

In the year of the city 313, the Romans were afflicted with almost every species of domestic scourge; with famine, pestilence, sedition, and conspiracies. During this calamity, *Spurius Mælius*, a Roman knight, possessed of great wealth, purchased a vast quantity of corn at foreign markets, and ordered it to be distributed gratis, or to be sold, at a very low price, to the poor. By this apparent liberality, he had seduced, to his cause, so great a number of the most idle and dissolute of the people, as to endanger the safety of the state. He acted, as nearly all other demagogues have acted: he imposed upon the ignorance of the people, by inducing them to believe that

he was studying only their happiness; while, in fact, all his pretended kindness was but a cover for the promotion of his own interested views. He was contemplating, through their agency, the acquisition of even sovereign power.

In this state of affairs it was that Cincinnatus, though now more than eighty years of age, was again called from his cottage, to assume the office of *dictator*; and, old as he was, he performed this duty with great firmness. He summoned Mælius to appear in the forum; but the knight, conscious of his guilt, and foreseeing the danger to which he would be exposed, under any examination into the motives of his conduct, attempted to escape. Servilius Ahala, the general of horse, who had received orders to arrest him, pursued and killed him. In this act he was justified by one of the Roman laws, which authorized the putting of any man to death, even without the form of a trial, who had aspired to the sovereign power. The dictator had no difficulty in clearly establishing the guilt of Mælius. He consequently applauded the deed; and the people did not much object to it, for they considered themselves, in some degree, recompensed for the loss of their benefactor, by the quantity of corn which was found in his house, and was distributed among them at a very low price. The dictator, on this occasion, further gratified them, by commanding all the property of Mælius to be sold, and its whole produce to be distributed among the people.

Cincinnatus did not long survive this termination of a conspiracy, which many feared would occasion the total overthrow of the government. He *died*, sincerely regretted by his fellow-citizens; and with a consciousness of having been eminently useful to the state of which he had so long been a member. Never had he accepted any pecuniary recompence for his services to the public. By his example, he had shown that the great qualification for doing

good does not depend upon wealth, but upon a contented, a noble, and an independent spirit, which itself requiring no superfluities, leaves its owner at full liberty to serve his fellow-creatures. “That man (as Plutarch admirably remarks) is unfit for great acts, who aims at little objects; nor can he relieve the many needy, who himself needs many things.”

Authorities.—*Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, and Hooke's Roman History.*

MARCUS FURIUS CAMILLUS.

A Roman general who was five times dictator; and was chiefly celebrated for having taken the cities of Veii and Falerii; and for having defeated the Gauls, when that people had obtained possession of Rome, and were besieging the senate in the capitol.

Died about the year 383 of Rome, and 366 years before the birth of Christ.

THIS eminent Roman, whose virtues and whose talents are almost equally deserving of admiration, passed the early part of his youth in the capacity of a minister or assistant of the priests, in one of the Roman temples. It was from this circumstance that he obtained the surname of CAMILLUS, which signifies “a servitor.”

He entered the Roman *army* at a time when his country was involved in war with many of the neighbouring nations; and he first signalized himself by an act of valour, in a battle against the Æqui and Volsci. Whilst spurring his horse before the ranks, he received a severe wound in the thigh; but, instead of retiring from the field, he plucked the javelin out,

and continued the combat until the enemy were defeated.

In the year of the city, 352, when it was considered requisite to augment to eight, the number of *military tribunes* with consular power, Camillus was appointed one of these; and, in the tenth year of the siege of Veii, at that time the principal city of Etruria, the other magistrates were removed, and he was made *dictator*.

One of his first acts, in this office, afforded a proof that he believed in the superintendance of a Divine Providence; though this belief, like that of all other heathens, was intermingled with much superstition and absurdity. He made a vow to the gods, that if they would favour his military career, by enabling him to terminate gloriously the war in which he was engaged, he would celebrate, to their honour, the great Circensian games*, would dedicate a tenth part of the spoils to Apollo, and would consecrate a temple to one of the Roman goddesses.

After he had perfected his levies, Camillus led a body of troops into the country of the *Falisci*, on the banks of the Tiber; and, after obtaining a complete victory over that people, he turned his attention to the *siege of Veii*. Few generals appear to have exhibited greater military talents than those displayed by the new dictator. Perceiving that it would be attended with great danger to attempt the city by assault, he ordered mines to be dug beneath the walls. The soil around the place was so light, that his men easily penetrated through it; and it was of depth sufficient for the works to be carried on, unseen by the enemy. That his design might not be suspected, he ordered a partial attack to be made upon the walls; and, whilst the attention of the citi-

* These were games exhibited, in the Roman Circus, in imitation of the Olympic Games in Greece.

zens was occupied in defending these, a strong body of Roman soldiers passed along the mine, and secretly penetrated into the temple of Juno, which was within the citadel.

It is related by Plutarch, that, when the soldiers were beneath the floor of the temple, one of the Veientian generals was offering sacrifice: that, on inspecting the entrails of the victim, the soothsayer is said to have exclaimed: "The gods promise victory to him who shall finish this sacrifice;" and that the Romans, on hearing these words, removed the pavement, issued forth with loud shouts, and, immediately afterwards, obtained possession of the city*.

As soon as the city was surrendered, the soldiers, with permission of Camillus, dispersed in search of booty; and the spoils that were collected, far exceeded, both in quantity and in value, all that he had either calculated upon or hoped for. On the ensuing day, according to the inhuman and most unjustifiable custom of these times, Camillus ordered all the inhabitants of free condition to be sold as slaves. Thus fell Veii, a city which, even in its final overthrow, demonstrated its greatness. For, after having withstood an attack of ten years; and, after having inflicted on its enemy losses considerably greater than itself had sustained, when it was at last overcome, it was vanquished, not by force, but by the superior skill of the Roman engineers.

The taking of this place fully established the character of Camillus, in the opinion of the Romans; and so unbounded was the joy of the Roman people, at the acquisition of it, that, before the senate could be assembled to pass any decree for the purpose,

* On the subject of this extraordinary story, Livy says: "In matters of such remote antiquity, (about four hundred years before his time,) I think it enough if relations which carry a resemblance of truth, be received as true: stories like this, better adapted for exhibition on the stage, than for obtaining belief, it is needless either to affirm or to refute."

every temple was filled with matrons, returning thanks to the gods for his success.

The popularity of Camillus was not, however, of long continuance. Though, on his arrival in Rome, he was more numerously attended than any general had previously been; and, although the honours that were conferred upon him, in his triumph, far surpassed the compliments usually paid on such occasions, yet *the Romans were offended*, because he entered the city in a splendid chariot, drawn by four white horses. They asserted that no general had ever done this before; and that it was an insult to their religion for the dictator to emulate the equipage of Jupiter, the king and father of the gods. He had also tinged his face with vermilion, a colour with which the statues of the gods were painted. And these were not the only causes of offence. The ancients, considering that they sanctioned even the most inhuman proceedings, by rendering their deities partakers in the plunder they obtained, Camillus, as it has been observed, had vowed to dedicate to Apollo a tenth part of the spoils that should be acquired; but he had neglected his vow. After the surrender of Veii, he had permitted his soldiers to pillage the city; and now, when he was required to fulfil his engagement, he expressed himself sorry that he had forgotten it. This, however, was to no purpose: he was told that the vow must be fulfilled; and, although the soldiers had not only to refund a large portion of what they considered the fruit of their labours, but, in many instances, had to make good what they had actually expended, it was required that each of them should produce, to the public treasury, the value of the tenth part of the plunder that he had obtained, for the purpose of its being expended on a golden vase, to be carried to Delphi, as an offering to Apollo.

On the subsequent breaking out of a *war with the Falisci*, Camillus recovered his popularity, and was

again nominated one of the *military tribunes*. His long experience of the character of the Roman populace, and of the injurious consequences of their power in the state, occasioned him to be not a little rejoiced at the prospect of a new war. He was desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might not have leisure, at home, to excite tumult and sedition; for this (says Plutarch) was “a remedy to which the Romans, like skilful physicians, always had recourse, in order to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.”

One of the first proceedings of Camillus was to besiege *Falerii*, the capital of the Falisci; a city so strongly fortified, that the inhabitants entertained no fears whatever as to the result of their defence. All, except those who guarded the walls, walked about in the streets, as usual, and with great apparent unconcern. The boys of the public school, pursued their usual studies; and the master often took them out to walk upon the ramparts.

But this confidence of the Falerians in their own strength, was the cause of the city being taken. The Roman army lying encamped at some distance from the place, the *schoolmaster* was permitted to walk, with his boys, even beyond the walls. By degrees he took them to greater distances, and accustomed them to divert themselves as freely as if they had had nothing to apprehend; and, at last, he conducted them within the Roman lines, and treacherously presented them to Camillus. He stated that “he was the schoolmaster of Falerii, and that, preferring the favour of Camillus to the obligations of his duty, he had come to surrender to him the children which had been placed under his care; and, in them, the whole city.”

An act so atrocious received the reward that it justly merited. Camillus ordered the lictors to tear off the man's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and to furnish the boys with rods and scourges. He

then directed them to whip the traitor all the way from the Roman camp into the city. The Falerians had been informed of the treachery of their school-master; and the whole city had resounded with lamentations for the loss of the children. Distracted and enraged, the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowded about the walls and gates, anxiously looking towards the Roman camp and bewailing their loss. After a little while, they espied the boys approaching the city, in the act of whipping their master, naked and bound; and the boys, when they entered, exclaimed that Camillus had been "their preserver, their deliverer, and their father."

Not only the parents of the children, but the citizens in general, were so much delighted with the justice and magnanimity of Camillus, that they, shortly afterwards, surrendered to him their city; and they were liberally treated for their confidence. They were required only to pay a certain sum of money as a fine: the city was given into their possession again; and the nation of the Falisci was admitted into alliance with the Romans.

This, however, was an arrangement not at all satisfactory to the Roman soldiers. These had expected to share in the plunder of the city; and, on their returning, empty-handed, to Rome, they *accused Camillus*, to their fellow-citizens, as an enemy of the people. And, notwithstanding the numerous and important services he had performed for the state, so great a clamour was excited against him, that, to avoid a sentence which he foresaw would be pronounced, this illustrious Roman determined to quit the city as a *voluntary exile*.

He did not, however, like Coriolanus, seek protection from the enemies of his country, or offer to them his services, against his own ungrateful nation. On leaving Rome, he prostrated himself before the temples on the Capitoline hill, and prayed to heaven,

that, in recompence for these, his undeserved sufferings, the Romans might soon have occasion more earnestly to desire his recal, than they had had to wish for his banishment. And, to this prayer, he was not incited by any motives of resentment; he did not ask that calamity might befall his country: he was only desirous that, in such case, he might prove his anxiety for her welfare, by offering himself as her deliverer, at the price even of his own blood. Thus did he put in practice the doctrine of Plato, that “an honest and good man, however ill he may be treated by his country, preserves always, in his heart, a mediator in her behalf, and seeks every opportunity of doing her service, whether it be by life, or whether it be by death.”

The republic soon suffered, both justly and severely, for having given way to the clamours against Camillus. Never were they more in need of super-eminent talents, than at this period; for they were on the point of encountering enemies more formidable than any with which they had hitherto been engaged. Scarcely had Camillus left the gates of Rome, than ambassadors from the *Gauls*, arrived in the city, to demand satisfaction for certain insults which they asserted their country had received from the Romans. The senate would afford them no redress; and the Gauls marched a powerful army against Rome. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering weapons, their fury and impetuosity, struck terror wherever they came.

The Romans, under the command of the tribunes, were led out to battle; but, in consequence of the dissensions which had prevailed, the army was in so disorganized a state, that the generals found it dangerous to exercise any authority. The result may easily be imagined: they engaged the enemy, but in so disorderly a manner, that they were soon shamefully beaten and put to flight. Part of the troops escaped to the hills, part to Rome, and part fled to

Veii. It was imagined that Rome itself must be lost, and that all the inhabitants would be put to the sword.

On the third day after the battle, the Gaulish general arrived, with his army, at the gates of Rome. The inhabitants, incapable of resistance, afforded scarcely any opposition. He consequently *entered the city*, pillaged all the houses, and at last set fire to it. The capitol alone continued in possession of the Romans. The Gauls attacked it, but were repulsed with considerable loss. After this they blockaded it with one half of their army, whilst, with the other half, they made incursions into the country, to plunder the inhabitants, and to levy contributions.

Now it was that the Romans more particularly reproached themselves for their conduct towards Camillus. Had he not been banished, they might have escaped the calamity which they now so grievously deplored.

Notwithstanding their ingratitude towards him, he was resolved to exert himself in the defence of his country. He had retired to *Ardea*, a sea-coast town, about twenty-five miles south-east of Rome. A considerable party of Gauls had penetrated to the neighbourhood of Ardea. At the request of Camillus the people of this city agreed to aid him in an attempt to defeat the enemy. He assembled a powerful body of men, and drew them up within the walls, that the enemy might not discover his intentions. The Gauls, having loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the adjacent plains, in a careless and disorderly manner. Before night, nearly all of them were intoxicated with the wine they had obtained; and, not long afterwards, silence reigned in their camp. As soon as Camillus, by his spies, was informed of this, he led his men cautiously out, and reached the camp about midnight. He then ordered a tremendous shout to be uttered, and the trumpets to be sounded on all sides, for the purpose

of exciting terror and confusion. With considerable difficulty, the enemy roused themselves from their stupor. A few of them snatched up their arms, to oppose the unknown foe, and fell with their weapons in their hands; but most of them were slain before they could make any defence.

The fame of this action soon reached the neighbouring cities, and caused many able warriors to join the Roman standard at Ardea; and Camillus was *entreated to assume the chief command* of the army. He replied that it was impossible for him to do this, unless he were legally appointed by the Roman government in the capitol: so great was the regard which Camillus paid to the constitution of his country, though Rome itself lay in ashes. Indeed, had he acted otherwise, even with the purest intentions, and been unsuccessful, he well knew, that, notwithstanding all his services, the voice of the factious Romans would have overwhelmed him.

It was agreed to send a *messenger to the capitol*; but, whilst the city was possessed by the enemy, it seemed impossible to deliver the message. At length an adventurous young man, named Pontius Cominius, requested that it might be entrusted to him. Difficult as the task was, he said he would accomplish it, and bring back the orders of the Roman government. He would not, however, carry any letters, lest, if he should be taken, the enemy might discover the plans that were proposed. The commission intrusted to him was, therefore, a verbal one. Having dressed himself in mean attire, under which he concealed some pieces of cork, he approached the city about the close of day. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because that was guarded. He therefore took off his clothes, and bound them upon his head; and, having laid himself upon the corks, easily floated over, and reached the city. Then dressing himself, and avoiding those parts where, by the lights and noise, he concluded

the enemy kept watch, he went to a gate called the Carmental gate, where the hill of the Capitol (the Tarpeian rock) was most steep and craggy. Here, during the silence of the night, he clambered up unperceived. Having reached the summit in safety, he advanced to the guards upon the walls, and, by them, was immediately conducted to the magistrates. The senate was, shortly afterwards, assembled. Cominius informed them of the victory which had been obtained, and, in the name of the Roman army, entreated them to appoint Camillus to the chief command. They did so: they caused his act of condemnation to be repealed, and created him dictator a second time. The Romans well knew that no one except Camillus could save them from destruction. In their adversity, therefore, they anxiously clung for safety to him whom, in the plenitude of their power, they had disgracefully expelled from their city.

Cominius was sent back, by the same way that he had come, and was equally fortunate in his return. He passed the enemy's lines undiscovered, and delivered to Camillus the decree, by which he was appointed dictator and commander in chief of the Roman armies. No time was lost, Camillus placed himself at the head of the troops, and marched against the Gauls.

An occurrence, however, took place, which had nearly destroyed all the hopes the Romans could have formed from this appointment. Some of the Gauls, employed in the siege of the capitol, happening to pass the place where Cominius had made his way up the rock, observed the traces of his hands and feet. They informed their commander of these. He inspected the place, and, in the evening, assembled some of the lightest and most active of his men; pointed out to them that the rock on which the capitol stood was neither inaccessible nor untrodden by human feet; and urged them not to quit a place, as

impregnable, which the Romans themselves had taught them how to take. He offered adequate rewards and honours for such of his soldiers as should distinguish themselves in an attack on the capitol; and, about midnight, several of them began to climb the rock. Though steep and craggy, it proved more practicable than they had expected. The foremost of the assailants gained the summit, arranged themselves in order of battle, and were preparing to take possession of the wall of the capitol, (for the guards were all asleep,) when some geese, that were kept in the temple of Juno, alarmed by sounds which they were unaccustomed to hear, set up a screaming noise. This roused and awoke the sleeping guards. Marcus Manlius, a distinguished military officer, alarmed by the noise, snatched up his weapons, and, calling on all other Romans to follow him, hastened to the spot. By a stroke with the boss, or prominent central part of his shield, he tumbled down a Gaul, who had just secured a footing on the summit. This man, as he fell, threw down several others. In a short time, a considerable body of Romans assembled at the place; and these, by their javelins and with stones, beat down the remainder of the enemy, so that, in a little while, the whole band of Gauls were hurled down the precipice and destroyed. Thus was the capitol saved. Manlius was rewarded for the victory, and the officer on guard was punished with death for his negligence. The geese had likewise a recompence. A golden image of a goose was made in memory of the service they had performed: a kind of procession was instituted to their honour; and a flock of geese was ever afterwards maintained at the public expence.

After their defeat at the capitol, the Gauls began to lose their courage. Provisions became scarce, and Camillus, being master of nearly the whole adjacent country, posted strong guards on all sides, and prevented the Gauls from obtaining forage. Sick-

ness also prevailed among them, in consequence of their being encamped among dead bodies, and among the rubbish and filth of demolished houses.

The *Romans, in the citadel* were, if possible, in a still worse condition. Pressed hard by famine, and ignorant of the operations of Camillus, they sent one of the tribunes to offer to the Gauls a thousand pounds weight of gold, if they would engage immediately to quit the Roman city and territories. They agreed to do this, and were properly punished for a very shameful infraction of the agreement. When the gold was carried to them, they endeavoured to avail themselves of false weights, in ascertaining its quantity. At first they did this privately, but afterwards openly. On the Romans expressing their just resentment at such conduct, Brennus, in a contemptuous and insulting manner, took off his sword, and threw it, with the belt, into the scale. A warm contest took place respecting this indignity; and, in the height of the dispute, *Camillus arrived at the gates of Rome*. Being informed of what was passing within the city, he ordered the main body of his army to advance slowly, whilst he, with a select band, marched hastily up to the scene of action. To the astonishment of Brennus, he took the gold out of the scales, and gave it to the lictors. He then ordered the Gauls to take away the balance and the weights, and to depart; telling them that "it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country, not with gold, but with steel." Brennus complained of the injustice that was done to him by this termination of the treaty; but Camillus replied, that "it had not been lawfully made; and that it could not be valid without the consent of himself, who was the dictator and sole magistrate." The Gauls, incensed at such conduct, drew their swords, and rushed on the Romans; but they were soon compelled to leave the city. They that day retreated to the distance of

about eight miles; and, on the ensuing morning, were attacked by Camillus and totally routed.

The Gauls had been about seven months in possession of Rome. They entered the city in the month of July, and were driven thence in February following.

As the deliverer of Rome, and restorer of the Roman government, Camillus *entered the city in triumph*. Those persons, who, with their wives and children, had quitted the place before the siege, now followed his chariot; and the men who had been besieged in the capitol, met and embraced their former friends, weeping for joy at this unexpected gratification. The priests, and ministers of the gods, most of whom had fled into the country, now also returned, bringing back with them such holy things as they had conveyed away. Camillus, who is described by Livy to have been peculiarly attentive to all matters in which religion is concerned, then offered sacrifice to the gods, and ordered the temples to be rebuilt.

The city had been so entirely *demolished*, that many of the Romans were desirous of transferring the seat of government to *Veii*. This project, however, was opposed by Camillus: and the people again began to raise *clamours against him*. He, therefore, wisely referred the subject to the judgment of the senate; and, whilst preparations were making to take the votes of the senators, a centurion of the guard, in the act of conducting along his troop, was accidentally heard to exclaim: "Standard-bearer, fix your standard: it is best for us to stay here." This occurrence was considered, by the superstitious Romans, a favourable omen. The senate voted that Rome should be restored: and the people no longer opposed the work; imagining that the gods had thus directed it to be performed. The rebuilding of the city was consequently begun. Tiles were supplied at the public expence, and liberty was granted to hew stones and fell timber wherever any person chose, security being taken that the buildings should be

completed within the year. From this excessive haste, the streets were made narrow and intricate, the houses were ill planned and arranged. All distinction of property seems to have been lost; and each person appears to have constructed his house on any spot which he found vacant. Many nuisances were the consequence of so bad an arrangement; but the public sewers, in particular, became excessively inconvenient. Formerly they had passed only along the course of the streets, but now they passed under almost every private house. Camillus, for his late important services, was styled: "*The father of his country*;" and "*the second founder of Rome.*"

After this the Romans had many difficulties to encounter. Among others, a confederacy was formed against them by several of the neighbouring states: the Æqui, the Volsci, the Etrurians, the Tuscans, and the Latins; and the Romans, as their only resource, appointed Camillus, a third time, dictator. One division of the enemy's troops laid siege to *Sutrium*, (now called Satri, in Tuscany,) a city in alliance with Rome. Another division, which was encamped within an entrenchment strongly fortified with palisadoes and large masses of timber, entertained hopes of being enabled to attack and destroy the principal Roman forces. Camillus, suspecting the intentions of the latter, was beforehand in the attack. At that season of the year, it was usual for the wind, about the time of sun-rising, to blow with violence from the mountains. He consequently directed a great quantity of combustible matter to be collected, and his troops to be in readiness to march by day-break. Part of them he ordered, by way of feint, to begin an attack, with loud shouts and missile weapons; whilst he, with the main body, marched to the opposite side—that from which the wind blew. When the sun had risen, and the breeze had become sufficiently strong, the feint was begun. As soon as he imagined the enemy were all engaged in repelling

that attack, he gave the signal to his men; and, instantly, an immense number of flaming darts and other combustible weapons and substances were thrown within the enemy's fortifications. The latter, being wholly formed of timber, soon caught fire. The flames spread around, and the enemy, not having any means of extinguishing them, the whole camp was soon in a blaze. In their confusion and alarm, they attempted to rush out and escape, but were nearly all destroyed.

By this skilful manœuvre Camillus succeeded in his object; but he had still some powerful foes to encounter. Leaving his son in the camp to guard and secure the prisoners, and the plunder that had been taken, he himself penetrated into the enemy's country. He took the *city of the Æqui*, and reduced the *Volsci* to obedience. After this he led his army to *Sutrium*, in the hope of being able to relieve that city, but it had surrendered before his arrival. The inhabitants had given it up, with the loss of every thing except the clothes they wore; and, in this condition, Camillus met a great number of them, marching out of the city, accompanied by their wives and children, and grievously bewailing their misfortunes. He was extremely affected at the sight; and, as his approach was not suspected by the enemy, who were all now within the walls, engaged in riot and plunder, he determined to attempt the recovery of the city. Unsuspicious of danger, no guards had been placed; and Camillus not only advanced without being discovered, but had reached the gates, and had even taken possession of the walls, before the enemy were aware of his approach. Indeed, they were so enfeebled by feasting and intoxication, that they could make no effectual resistance; but were either slain in the houses, or surrendered themselves to the conquerors. Thus was the city of *Sutrium* taken twice in one day. The new posses-

sors were now expelled, and the old ones restored by Camillus.

It is creditable to the humanity of this famous Roman, that he did not retort upon the enemy the cruelty with which they had treated the Sutrians. No sooner had he obtained possession of the city, than he caused a proclamation to be made, requiring of all persons to lay down their arms; declaring that the unarmed should be spared, and that none but those who made opposition should suffer injury.

In the course of a very short time, and after having effected a conquest over three different enemies, Camillus returned to Rome in triumph. A great multitude of prisoners, chiefly Etrurians, were led before his chariot; and a vast sum of money was brought into the treasury; out of which three large golden bowls were made, and, being inscribed with the name of Camillus, were placed in a recess in the temple of Jupiter.

In a subsequent war Camillus marched, with the Roman army, against the *Volsci*, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and the *Antiates*. The assembled troops of these nations formed so powerful a force, that the Roman soldiery were greatly alarmed, and appeared extremely reluctant to engage. This, to Camillus, was a mortifying circumstance. He rode between the ranks, addressed them in animated and impressive language: then, giving the signal for attack, he leaped from his horse, and laying hold of the nearest standard-bearer, hurried him onward against the enemy, calling aloud: "Soldiers, advance the standard." This had some effect, for seeing that Camillus, who now, through age, was unequal to acts of great bodily exertion, was advancing alone against the enemy, they raised a shout, rushed forward, and obtained a signal victory.

The fame of Camillus, and the numerous honours which he had obtained, excited great enmity among the Romans. This was increased by the conduct of

Marcus Manlius, the officer who first repulsed the Gauls, when they attempted to take the capitol. He insinuated that Camillus was indebted, for his successes, to chance or good fortune, rather than to either his talents or his bravery. Manlius was desirous of being considered the first man in Rome; and, as he was unable to effect the downfall of Camillus in any other manner, he adopted the usual mode of discontented persons: he courted the populace, and endeavoured to rouse them to acts of insubordination against the state. He was not, however, able to effect his purpose. The Roman people were satisfied that it was their own interest to retain Camillus in the government: they consequently refused to adopt any plans that would tend to deprive them of his talents. Yet, when Manlius was committed to prison for his seditious conduct, the majority of the Roman populace put on mourning for him; a testimony of grief which was never adopted, except on what were considered occasions of great public calamity. The consequence was, that the magistrates, overawed by the people, and fearful of insurrection, were compelled to set him at liberty.

Presuming upon the weak and contemptible state of the Roman government, Manlius, after his liberation, became more insolent and troublesome than before his committal. He filled the whole city with faction and sedition; and his conduct, at last, became so daring, that the government was compelled to bring him to trial; and the evidence of his treason was such, that it was found impossible for the judges to acquit him. He was condemned to die, was carried to the capitol, and thrown headlong down the Tarpeian rock; which thus became the monument both of his disgrace and glory.

Camillus was now about sixty years of age, and in a very infirm state of health; and, being desirous of retiring from public life, he declined accepting the office of *military tribune*, to which he was again no-

minated. This office was, however, in some degree forced upon him; and he was, immediately afterwards, directed to march against a considerable army of the *Volsci* and their allies, which, at that time, was laying waste the Roman territories. He encamped his forces at a little distance from those of the enemy; and his colleague, Lucius Furius Medullinus, imprudently engaged them in so rash and precipitate a manner, that the Romans were soon put to flight. Though confined, by illness, to his tent, Camillus was no sooner informed of the occurrence, than, dressing himself, and seizing his sword, he rushed to the gate of the camp. Thence, having been lifted upon his horse, he forced his way through the midst of the fugitives, and rallied them. He advanced, at their head, against the enemy, and immediately checked the pursuit; and, on the ensuing day, put them entirely to flight.

After his return to Rome, intelligence being received of a *revolt in Tuscany*, the Romans again appointed him to a chief command in the army, and ordered him, with another of the tribunes, to march against the insurgents. The terror of his name was so great, that the Tuscans, on being informed that he was proceeding against them, attempted, by a stratagem, to correct their error, and induce the Romans to imagine that they had no intention of opposing them. When, therefore, the Roman army entered the Tuscan territory, they found, in the fields, husbandmen and shepherds, occupied in their respective employments, as during a time of profound tranquillity. The gates of the city were left open: great numbers of the inhabitants came forth to meet the generals; and provisions for the Roman troops were carried into the camp, both from the city and the country. Camillus pitched his camp before the gates; and, being desirous of ascertaining whether the same appearance of peace prevailed within the walls, as he had remarked during his approach, he

entered the city. Here he saw the shops open, and tradesmen busied in their respective employments. He visited the schools, and observed the children at their lessons as usual. Women and children were walking about the streets, as their several occupations seemed to require; and the streets were filled with the populace of every sort. There was no appearance, whatever, either of alarm or of surprise. In short, there was not the slightest symptom of preparation for war. Camillus was not, however, to be deceived by appearances; but the apparent contrition of the people excited his compassion. He ordered a deputation of them to go to Rome, and to entreat the pardon of the senate; and, afterwards, when the deputation appeared there, as suppliants, he exerted all his influence to procure for them forgiveness, and a grant of the privileges of Roman citizens.

The Romans, once more relieved from the pressure of war, began to quarrel among themselves. An alarming *sedition*, originating in a contest for the election of the two consuls, was excited betwixt the common people and the nobles. The commons insisted that one of the two should always be a plebeian. The election, consequently, did not take place; and the senate, after a contest which lasted five years, resolved, as their only resource for the safety of the state, to create Camillus *dictator for the fourth time*; and entreated of him, for the sake of his suffering country, to accept the office. Contrary to his own inclination he did so; but, after having, in vain, endeavoured to obviate the danger with which the state was threatened, he was obliged to resign this important office.

Influenced, no doubt, by the commotions which harassed the commonwealth, the *Gauls* once more marched an immense army towards the Roman capital. The terror excited by their approach, and the recollection of what the country had already suffered

from that people, immediately terminated the sedition; and, the patricians and plebeians becoming once more unanimous, Camillus was again chosen *dictator*.

He was now nearly fourscore years of age, yet, ardently desirous for the safety and the happiness of his country, he once more took the command of the army, and made the levies that were requisite for increasing it. Though weak from bodily infirmity, his conduct, on this occasion, proved that, at least, his mental faculties were not impaired.

He knew that the chief weapon used by the Gauls was the sword, which they managed without skill, and with which they chiefly struck at the head and shoulders of their opponents. He therefore furnished the Roman soldiers with helmets of polished iron; and, round the edges of their shields, he caused plates of brass to be fastened. He also caused his men to be exercised in the use of long pikes, by which also they might be able to avert the effects of the enemy's swords. The Gauls, who had advanced from the shores of the Adriatic Sea, reached the river Anio; and Camillus, by a masterly stratagem, obtained considerable advantage over them. In consequence of this, of his alteration of the weapons of the Romans, and the high state of discipline to which, in a short time, he had brought the Roman army, the Gauls, though greatly superior in numbers, were totally defeated.

Again freed from the fear of external foes, the Romans began to quarrel. The *contests between the senate and the people* were renewed; and Camillus, contrary to his own inclination, was induced, by the senate, to continue in the dictatorship for some time after the termination of the war. At length, however, the people again became so turbulent as to overawe the nobles, and he resigned. Not long after this, Rome was visited by a dreadful *pestilence*, which carried off an immense number of the inhabit-

ants; and, among the rest, Camillus and most of the magistrates.

Camillus stands unrepfoached with a single instance of those irregularities which often so unfortunately characterize the season of youth; and, in his subsequent life, he amply reaped the benefits of his early-acquired good habits; for, in him, we have an instructive example of united honour, integrity, and virtue. As a military commander, he enjoyed sixty years of victory, unsullied by defeat; and, through the whole of a long life, he maintained a *character* equal to his rank of glory, and well deserved the honourable appellation which was given to him, of being “the second founder of Rome.”

Authorities.—*Plutarch* and *Livy*.

QUINTVS FABIVS MAXIMVS.

A Roman nobleman, who, as dictator, commanded the Roman armies against Annibal, in the second Carthaginian war, and was so remarkable for his cautious proceedings in defensive warfare, that he was styled “the shield of Rome.”

He died in the year 549 of Rome, and 205 years before Christ.

SUCH were the mildness and general simplicity of his conduct, that Fabius Maximus, when a *boy*, was characterized by the appellation of *Ovicula*, or “little sheep.” In all his *diversions* he is said to have been peculiarly serious and reserved; and he did not appear to attain his early knowledge without difficulty. Those, however, who were best acquainted with him, knew that the seriousness of his disposition was owing to the depth of his understanding, and that his apparent slowness of comprehension

was occasioned by his considering intently, and fixing indelibly in his memory, the subjects of his study. In courage and magnanimity, he excelled all his companions; and his firmness of mind was almost unequalled. He appears to have early imbibed a desire for a *military life*; and he prepared himself, by violent exercise of body, for the most arduous toils. During his youth he also studied the art of public speaking; and he became one of the most eloquent of the Roman orators.

He subsequently attained great eminence, both as a statesman and a general. He was five times consul; and, during his *first consulship*, he was honoured with a triumph, for a signal victory which he obtained over the Ligurians.

Some years after this his talents were more fully called into action, during the contests which took place between the Romans and the Carthaginians. At the commencement of the second Carthaginian war, after Annibal had taken possession of Saguntum, a town near the eastern coast of Spain, the Romans, alarmed at the progress he was making, sent Fabius, as their *ambassador to Carthage*, to demand whether the conduct of Annibal had been authorized by that government. An evasive answer being given, Fabius gathered up his robe into a hollow form: "Here (said he) we bring you peace and war; take which you please." The Carthaginians replied, that "he might give them whether of the two he chose:" on which, pouring out, as it were, what was in the hollow of his robe, Fabius promptly said: "We give you war." In so doing, he was no doubt well aware that their resolution had previously been formed. Annibal, not long afterwards, invaded Italy, advanced through Tuscany, and laid waste all the country through which he passed. The Romans began to be excessively alarmed for the safety even of their capital; but Fabius, in some degree, removed their fears, by stating that the enemy were not very numerous,

and that they were much distressed by a want of money. He advised that the progress of the Carthaginians should merely be checked; and, that battle should not be given to an army whose vigour, with proper attention, might, like a flame wanting fuel, be, as he imagined, gradually exhausted till it expired.

This advice, however, was spurned by the consul *Caius Flaminius*, a man of obscure extraction, rash and headstrong, who, by the turbulence of his character, his invectives against the senate, and his praises of the plebeians, had become a distinguished favourite among the lower orders. He declared that he would never suffer the war to approach the gates of Rome; and, no sooner had he assembled his forces, than he precipitately marched towards the *lake of Thrasymene*, in Tuscany. Here, his precipitation was, if possible, exceeded by his imprudence; for he drew up his army in the midst of mountains which were occupied by the troops of Annibal. The consequence was a disadvantageous battle, in which himself was slain, and his whole army *routed* with dreadful slaughter.

The consternation of the Romans, on receiving the intelligence of this fatal defeat, was so great, that some days elapsed before they could resolve what plans of conduct to adopt. At length, they resolved to appoint Fabius Maximus to the office of *dictator*, as a man who had spirit, talents, and dignity equal to so high a command. He accepted the office but on condition that he should be permitted to use a horse in the field, a privilege which had been forbidden by the ancient Roman laws; and forbidden, either because the Romans placed their greatest confidence in the infantry, and therefore chose that the commander in chief should always be posted among them; or because they would have the dictator, (whose power, in other respects, was almost arbi-

trary,) appear, in this case at least, to be dependent upon the people.

Not long after his appointment, he *marched*, at the head of the Roman army, to watch the motions of Annibal: and, in all his proceedings, against that general, he acted upon the system of caution which he had previously recommended to the Romans. He did not intend to fight the Carthaginians, unless he was confident of a decided advantage; but he proposed, by harassing them in every possible way, to waste their vigour, and thus gradually to destroy them. For the purpose of securing his army against attack from the enemy's cavalry, he always endeavoured to encamp above them, in mountainous situations. When the enemy was stationary, he was so also: when they moved, he likewise moved; but at such a distance as not to be compelled to fight against his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm.

In the depressed state of the Roman armies, at this time, such a plan was, no doubt, the most advantageous that could be adopted, and Annibal, fully sensible of this, exerted all his abilities, but in vain, to bring Fabius to a general battle. In the hope of irritating his pride, he caused a report to be circulated that he had said: "If Fabius be so great a commander as he is reported, let him come forth and give me battle." The reply of the wary Roman was: "If Annibal be so great a commander as he thinks himself, let him compel me to do so."

Annibal is compared, by Plutarch, to a skilful wrestler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold on his adversary. Sometimes he advanced, and alarmed him with the apprehension of an attack: sometimes he withdrew his forces, and led him from place to place, hoping to seduce him to act incautiously. But all this was in vain. Fabius, convinced of the utility of his plan, resolutely adhered to it.

The imprudence of *Minucius*, his general of horse, gave him, however, great trouble. This man frequently harangued the army, respecting what he termed these dilatory proceedings; and inspired the soldiers with an eager desire to fight the Carthaginians. They, in return, extolled *Minucius*, as a man deserving of the utmost confidence, and one who properly supported the dignity of the Roman character. As *Fabius* had usually endeavoured to encamp his men in elevated situations, *Minucius* tauntingly informed the soldiers, that “the dictator, no doubt, did this, with the intention that they should the more easily be able to see Italy laid waste with fire and the sword.” He said, that “*Fabius* probably intended to take his army into heaven, as he appeared to have bade adieu to the world below; or that, perhaps, he hoped, among the clouds and fogs, to conceal himself from the attack of the enemy.”

The friends of *Fabius* were desirous that he should terminate these aspersions, by risking a battle; but he resolutely declared, that he should be more cowardly than even *Minucius* had represented him to be, if he could be induced to abandon his duty from fear of calumny, or by the inconsiderate rashness of those whom he knew to be in error.

Not long after this, however, he had an opportunity of convincing *Minucius* that he had no disinclination to meet his opponent in the field, when he believed he could do so with advantage to his country. *Annibal* had committed an important mistake, by leading his troops into a valley, the outlet of which *Fabius* was enabled to block up by a guard of four thousand men. *Fabius* posted the main body of his forces to advantage on the surrounding hills, and then, with the lightest and most active of his troops, he attacked the enemy's rear, and threw his whole army into confusion.

Annibal had been led into his error by trusting to

the information of guides, without having himself made due enquiry of the inhabitants of the country. His situation consequently became a most embarrassing one. It was nearly impossible for him to force the Romans from the heights of which they were in possession; and terror and dismay seemed to pervade his whole army. In this apparently inextricable difficulty, he had recourse to a very extraordinary *stratagem*. He had, in his camp, about two thousand oxen; and, to the horns of these, he ordered a quantity of torches to be fastened. In the night, he caused the torches to be lighted; and then had the oxen driven towards the narrow pass, which was guarded by the Romans. So long as the fire was moderate, and burnt only the torches, the animals moved steadily onward; and the shepherds and herdsmen, on the adjacent heights, gazed at them with wonder, imagining that what they saw was an army, marching, in regular order, with lighted torches. But when the fire began to give them pain, the oxen no longer kept any certain path, but ran furiously along, setting on fire all the thickets and woods through which they passed. The Romans, who guarded the extremity of the valley, were utterly astonished. They imagined they saw an immense number of men running up and down the sides of the hills with torches, which scattered fire in every direction. Their alarm was so great, lest they should be surrounded and attacked, that they quitted the pass, and fled to the main body of their forces in the camp. The light-armed troops of Annibal, immediately afterwards, took possession of the outlet, and the rest of his forces marched in safety through.

Before the break of day, Fabius was aware that some stratagem had been practised, for several of the oxen had entered the Roman camp. But, wholly ignorant of its nature, and apprehensive lest, in the dark, his whole army might be endangered, he was compelled to remain in his entrenchments, keeping

his men under arms and on guard. At break of day, however, when he had ascertained the extent of the danger, he pursued the enemy, came up with their rear, and attacked them. Several skirmishes ensued, in the difficult passes of the mountains, and the army of Annibal was thrown into some disorder; but Fabius was unable to obtain any important advantage.

This occurrence brought upon Fabius more contempt from the Romans than before. Annibal was not unacquainted with the unfavourable opinion which they entertained of him, and determined, if possible, to increase it. Whilst he ravaged and plundered the lands and buildings of all other persons, he artfully placed a guard over those of Fabius, to preserve them from injury. The Romans estimated this act precisely in the manner that Annibal wished. They raised loud clamours against Fabius, asserting that, whilst he pretended to be acting for the advantage of his country, he was influenced by an interest for the Carthaginians, and was secretly promoting their designs.

But there was one cause of offence wholly distinct from that of his conduct in the field. Fabius had stipulated with the enemy, that the Romans should pay a considerable sum of money for the *ransom of some of his officers*, who had been taken in the war. The senate determined not to fulfil this engagement, and severely reprimanded him for a proceeding which they declared to be equally detrimental to the honour and the interest of the state. No sooner, however, was Fabius informed of their determination, than he sent his son to Rome, with orders to sell part of his estate, and bring the produce of it immediately to the camp. The commission was executed, and he redeemed the prisoners with his own property.

Not long after this, he was sent for to *Rome*, for the purpose of assisting in a solemn sacrifice which was to be made; and he left his army in the command

of *Minucius*. Now it was that his plans were shown to be the most advantageous that could have been adopted. *Minucius* resolved, without delay, to risk an engagement. *Annibal* soon afforded him an opportunity of doing this, and, in a partial contest, he obtained some apparent advantages. These increased both the arrogance of the general and the ardour of his soldiers. An exaggerated report of the action was conveyed to Rome; and *Fabius*, well knowing what the consequence would be, immediately exclaimed, that he “dreaded nothing so much as the “success of *Minucius*.” The Roman people, however, were excessively elated with it. They now accused *Fabius* both of cowardice and of treachery: they asserted that, by his dilatory mode of warfare, he had enabled *Annibal* to establish himself securely in the country, and it was decreed that, in future, *Minucius* should share the command with *Fabius*.

As far as it concerned himself, *Fabius* bore all their conduct without emotion; but he was deeply grieved for the injury that he knew his country must suffer, by a rash man being thus enabled to indulge his own indiscreet ambition for military glory. Apprehensive lest *Minucius*, during his absence, should take some fatal step, he left Rome in haste, and *joined the army*. On his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of this new commander almost beyond endurance. *Minucius* proposed to take the entire command of the army every other day. But *Fabius* would not assent to this. He chose rather to divide the forces, taking the command of one half of them himself, and giving that of the other half to his colleague.

As soon as *Annibal* had ascertained that the division under *Minucius* was encamped, he contrived, by a stratagem, to entice him into the field, and engage him in a disadvantageous fight. *Minucius* imagined that he should be able to obtain a brilliant victory over a detached part of the Carthaginian

army; but, at the very moment when he believed his object was accomplished, his troops were surrounded by the enemy, and thrown into confusion. They betook themselves to flight; but in flight they found no safety.

Now it was that Fabius was enabled to exhibit, with advantage, both his talents and his magnanimity. Having foreseen what would happen, he kept his division in readiness for action. From an eminence in front of his camp he watched the progress of the battle; and, when he saw the troops of his colleague surrounded and broken, and a cry had reached his ears, not like that of men standing to the charge in hope of victory, but of persons fleeing in dismay, after defeat, he commanded his standard-bearers to advance. "Now, my brave soldiers, (said he,) if you have any regard for Marcus Minucius, exert yourselves; he well deserves assistance, for his valour and for the love that he bears to his country. If, in his eagerness to expel the enemy, he has committed an error, this is not a time for us to resent it."

The approach of Fabius filled the enemy with dismay. He attacked those who were pursuing the Romans. Such as made resistance were slain, but the greatest part hastily retreated. Annibal, observing the disorder of the Carthaginians, and that Fabius was pushing on, through the hottest of the battle, to reach Minucius, who had sought for refuge upon a hill, terminated the skirmish by sounding a retreat and retiring into his camp. As he withdrew his men, he exclaimed to his officers, with vexation: "Did I not tell you, that this cloud would one day burst upon us from the mountains with all the fury of a tempest?"

It is scarcely possible to imagine a stronger testimony in favour of the Roman dictator than this. Happy, indeed, must it have been for the Roman army, and happy for Minucius himself, that Fabius

had retained the command of a portion of the troops. Had it been otherwise, all must have been lost. The subsequent conduct both of Fabius and Minucius, was entitled to the highest commendation. When the battle was over, Fabius collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead on the field. He then returned to his post, and did not suffer one angry expression, respecting his colleague, to escape from his lips. Minucius assembled his soldiers, and had the candour to acknowledge to them that he had been in error, and that he had been taught, in a single day, what, during his whole preceding life, he had been unable to learn, that he knew not how to command an army, and, consequently, that he ought to place himself under the direction of one who did. "From this moment (said he) I bid adieu to the ambition of excelling a man by whom it is an honour to be foiled. Your dictator shall be your sole commander; and I will be the first to set you an example of obedience and submission." He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head, to the camp of Fabius. There he placed the standard; and, saluting the dictator by the appellation of "Father," he thus addressed him: "This day, Fabius, you have obtained two victories: one over the enemy, by your talents and your valour; and the other over me, your colleague, by your prudence and humanity. By the former you have saved, by the latter you have instructed us; and Annibal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable. I call you 'Father,' because I know not a more honourable appellation; and I am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being; but to you I owe the preservation of my life, and the lives of these brave men." After this he affectionately embraced Fabius; and the soldiers of each general were

unbounded in their expressions of joy at the reconciliation.

The joy that prevailed in Rome was not less sincere. The same Fabius, who, of late, had been treated in so contemptuous a manner, was now hailed as the preserver of Rome, the brave and intrepid defender of his country. Not long after this, he resigned the dictatorship, and Geminus Servilius and Marcus Atilius were appointed consuls.

A subsequent consul, *Terentius Varro*, had the command of the Roman army; and his temerity and inexperience, greater than even those of Minucius, led him to actions which proved extremely injurious to the commonwealth.

This man was the son of a butcher; and, for some time, had followed his father's trade. But, becoming rich, he sought the consulship and obtained it, by a servile compliance with all the desires of the people. In the popular assemblies, he incessantly declaimed against the war as it had been conducted by Fabius. He asserted that, hitherto, no advantages had been gained; but that, on the same day, he would come within sight of the enemy and defeat him. His vain and confident boasting obtained for him the post that he desired; and so great was his influence with the people, that he was enabled to levy a much more numerous army than the Romans had ever before raised.

His colleague was Paulus Æmilius, a man of talent and experience. Fabius entreated of this officer, to withstand, to the utmost of his power, the temerity of Varro. This he did, but to little purpose, for Varro insisted on each of them having the entire command of the army on alternate days. Scarcely any project could have been more injurious than this. When it came to Varro's turn to take the command, he posted his army opposite to that of Annibal, on the bank of a river, near the village of *Cannæ*, and immediately made the signal for battle.

Annibal was rejoiced to see it. An engagement took place, and the Romans were totally defeated, with a loss of near fifty thousand men.

The fate of Æmilius was most deplorable. Early in the fight he received a severe wound from a sling. Notwithstanding this, at the head of a compact band of soldiers, he opposed himself to the Carthaginian commander; and, in several places, restored the battle. When unable to manage his horse, he dismounted, and fought on foot. At length, borne off the field by the overwhelming torrent of the fight, and covered with darts, pieces of which stuck in his wounds, he sate down on a stone in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to approach and despatch him. His head and face were so disfigured and besmeared with blood, that many even of his servants passed by without knowing him. At last, Cornelius Lentulus, a young nobleman, perceiving who he was, alighted, and implored of Æmilius to mount his horse and save himself. No entreaties, however, could prevail with him to do so. He took the young man by the hand: "Tell Fabius Maximus," said he, "and do you Lentulus bear witness, that Paulus Æmilius followed his directions to the last: that he did not in the least deviate from them, but that he was first overcome by Varro, and then by Annibal!" Having sent off Lentulus with this commission, he rushed into the ranks of the enemy and was slain.

The *battle of Cannæ*, which was fought in the year of the city 537, was one of the most disastrous events that had occurred since the foundation of Rome. It produced so important a change in the affairs of Annibal, that, although he had not, previously, possessed either town, magazine, or port, in Italy; and was without any regular supplies for the war; yet he then became master of the greatest part of the country. Annibal himself was astonished at his success. Maherbal, one of his generals, advised

him to take advantage of it, and immediately to march to Rome; as, by so doing, he might render himself master of the capitol! He applauded the zeal of his friend, but did not dare to follow his advice. On which Maherbal replied: "You, Annibal, know how to obtain victory, but you know "not how to use it!"

The merits of Fabius now began to be duly appreciated, even by the Roman multitude. Those proceedings, which, hitherto, had been deemed timid and cowardly, were now considered to have been directed by councils more than human. Rome placed in him her last hope; and in her distress, surrendered the management of her affairs chiefly to him.

Without a correct knowledge of the *character* of Fabius, it would seem most extraordinary that he, who, in times of apparent security, had appeared deficient in confidence and resolution, should now, when all had abandoned themselves to despair, be seen walking about the city with a calm and dignified air, a firm countenance, and a mild and encouraging address, checking the effeminate lamentations of the people, and preventing them from assembling in public, to bewail their misfortunes. His enemies might have insinuated that this conduct had been occasioned by his enmity to Rome, and that he had secret wishes for the success of its foes. But this they did not dare to do. Fabius exhibited too much anxiety for the welfare of his countrymen, to have admitted of such an insinuation. He assembled the senate, and, with indefatigable zeal, encouraged and aided the magistrates in all their measures for the security of the city, and the restoration of the army. So great was the terror which had been excited, that he was obliged to place guards at all the gates of the city, to prevent multitudes of the inhabitants from quitting their dwellings and fleeing into the country. After awhile, information was brought that Annibal,

instead of marching towards Rome, which every one feared and imagined he would have done, had proceeded to another part of Italy. The Romans on this took courage. They collected a considerable force, and appointed, for their *consuls*, Fabius Maximus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.

The character of Marcellus was very different from that of Fabius. He possessed an intrepid and enterprising spirit, and the most animated valour; and was well skilled in the art of war. Notwithstanding this, he had the good sense to accord with Fabius in his plans, of following Annibal without fighting him, checking him wherever it was possible, with safety, to do so; and allowing him no repose to recruit his strength, after his fatigue. Fabius was justly called the "shield," and Marcellus the "sword" of Rome; and the Romans, at this period, were accustomed to say, that the steadiness and caution of the one, in conjunction with the vivacity and boldness of the other, formed an admirable compound. By the motions of Marcellus, which resembled those of a torrent, the forces of Annibal were often broken and disconcerted; whilst, by those of Fabius, who moved like a silent but constant stream, they were undermined and insensibly weakened. With these two generals, as *prætors*, *consuls* or *proconsuls*, he had to contend during nearly the whole remainder of the war. Marcellus was, indeed, deceived in one of his stratagems and slain; but Annibal never succeeded in effectually deceiving Fabius.

In one instance, however, he had nearly done so. He caused letters to be forged, as if from the inhabitants of *Metapontum*, a town of Lucania, offering to deliver up the place to Fabius. The Roman general was delighted with the prospect of obtaining possession of this town, and ordered a strong party to be prepared for marching thither in the night. But, before they set out, he discovered the stratagem, and

escaped the danger which otherwise would have awaited him.

Fabius, at all times, treated his soldiers with great mildness and affability; and he was little inclined either to suspect them of treachery, or even to treat them with severity, when he had reason to suspect them. A remarkable instance of this has been recorded. He was informed that one of his soldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his post and went out of the camp. Fabius enquired the character of the man; and every one declared that there were few men in the army who had afforded more remarkable proofs of valour and good conduct than he. On enquiring into the cause of the man's irregularity, it appeared that he visited a young woman, whom he loved, and that, for the purpose of seeing her, he ventured out of the camp, and made a long and dangerous journey every night. Fabius gave orders that the woman should be secretly brought into his tent. After she had arrived, he sent for the soldier, and, taking him aside, said: "I am well aware that you have been many nights out of the camp, in breach of the Roman discipline and laws; at the same time I am not ignorant of your past services. In consideration of these I pardon your crime; but, for the future, I must give you in charge to a person who shall be answerable for you." While the soldier stood amazed at this address, Fabius produced the woman. "This," said he, "is the person who engages that you shall remain in the camp: we shall now see, whether it was not some traiterous design, which drew you from your duty, and for which the love of this woman served merely as a pretext."

It was by another love affair that Fabius recovered the city of *Tarentum*, which, during his absence, had been treacherously delivered up to Annibal. But, on this occasion, he acted with great cruelty: for, on taking possession of the place, lest

it should appear to have been betrayed to him, he caused several of the inhabitants to be put to the sword: no fewer than thirty thousand of the citizens were sold for slaves, and the city itself was given up to plunder. That his operations in taking this place might be conducted with the greater certainty of success, Fabius, by a skilful stratagem, had contrived to draw Annibal to a distance from it. As soon, however, as the Carthaginian had discovered the deception, he hastened back, and, being within five miles of Tarentum when it was taken, he exclaimed to his men, "The Romans too have their Annibal; for we have lost Tarentum in the same manner that we gained it." On this occasion it was that Annibal first acknowledged to his friends, "that he had always thought it difficult to conquer Italy: but that he now saw it was impossible to do so, with the forces which he possessed."

This achievement was considered by the Romans of so much importance, that they decreed to Fabius the honour of a splendid triumph. Even his enemies were compelled to acknowledge, not only that he had gloriously maintained the field against his antagonist, but that, hitherto, he had baffled all the schemes of the great Carthaginian hero. The army of Annibal was now enervated, and nearly worn down by fatigue.

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, was the *election of his son* to the office of *consul*; and a very remarkable circumstance has been related concerning the conduct of the younger Fabius towards his father. When he had entered upon his office, and was arranging some affairs relative to the war, his father, mounted on horseback, happened to ride towards him. As soon as the consul saw him, he sent to him one of the lictors, with orders that he should dismount and approach on foot. This procedure, which gave great offence to many of the persons present, afforded satisfaction

to Fabius. He alighted from his horse, ran to his son, and, embracing him with affection, said: "My son, I applaud both your sentiments and your conduct: you know what kind of people you have to command, and you have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This is the way which our fathers took, to advance Rome to her present height of glory; they always considered the honour and interest of their country, before those of their own families." There seems reason to suppose that Fabius had intentionally approached his son on horseback; for Livy states that, after he had dismounted, he exclaimed, "I wished, my son, to try whether or not you knew that you were consul!"

We now enter into an important epoch in the Roman history; commencing about the year of the city, 547, when Publius Cornelius Scipio was appointed consul. He had served with great renown in Spain, and, ridiculing the notion of wearing out the Carthaginians, by watching the motions of Anibal in Italy, he boldly resolved to transfer the seat of war into Africa; to fill the enemy's country with the Roman legions; to extend his ravages there in every direction; and to attempt the capture even of Carthage itself.

Fabius objected to this project, fearful that operations carried on at so great a distance, and by one whom he considered a rash and indiscreet young man, might involve his country in ruin. He used every means in his power to persuade the Romans not to assent to the wishes of Scipio. With the senate he was successful; but he could not so easily convince the people, who were inclined to believe that the opposition of Fabius proceeded either from envy of the success of Scipio in Spain, or from a secret fear, that, if Scipio should now achieve some signal exploit, and thus terminate the war, his own slow proceedings, through the course of so many years, might be imputed to indolence or timidity. The conduct of Fabius appears to have been occa-

sioned by an excess of caution. At the outset, he probably thought the danger great which attended the project of Scipio; but, in the progress of his opposition, he seems to have been influenced by a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. He used all his endeavours to prevent the raising of money for the expedition; and sought, in every possible way, to impede the plans of Scipio. In the public assemblies he declared that, "in avoiding a personal contest with Annibal, Scipio was carrying away, into a foreign country, the remaining strength of Italy;" and he so much alarmed the people, that Scipio was suffered to sail for Africa, with a very inferior force.

Scipio, however, had not long been in Africa, before accounts were brought to Rome of several wonderful achievements performed by him. These accounts were followed by rich spoils. A Numidian king, named Syphax, was taken prisoner. Two camps were burned, and fifty thousand of the enemy were either slain or taken prisoners.

Notwithstanding all this, Fabius was incessant in expressing dissatisfaction at the proceedings of Scipio. And, while nearly every tongue was loud in praise of this general, Fabius alone proposed that he should be deprived of his command.

So extraordinary an opposition gave great offence to the people. But Fabius was now old, nearly in his ninetieth year, and almost superannuated. Indeed, his declaration, after Annibal, in consequence of the successes of Scipio in Africa, had been obliged to quit Italy, seems to prove this. He affirmed that "the commonwealth was now come to its last and worst trial; and that there was greater reason to dread the efforts of Annibal, when he should arrive in Africa and attack Scipio under the walls of Carthage, than there had ever been during his campaigns in Italy." Thus, when the pressure of war was removed across the sea, he pretended to imagine

that the danger was more imminent, than when it had threatened to approach the gates of Rome.

All the predictions of Fabius failed. Scipio defeated Annibal in a pitched battle; and thus restored a firmness to the commonwealth, of which it had long been deprived. Fabius, however, did not live to hear even of this overthrow of Annibal; for, shortly after the Carthaginians had sailed from Italy, he was seized with a fatal disorder, which *terminated his life*, at the great age of about an hundred years, in the year of the city 549, and 205 years before the birth of Christ.

The Romans, notwithstanding all the prejudices which, during his life, had been excited against him, honoured the body of Fabius with a *public funeral*. The expence of this, however, was not defrayed out of the public treasury, but by the contributions of the citizens individually. They were desirous that he should be interred as the father of the people; and that those who particularly honoured his memory, might thus be enabled to render him the public homage which they believed his merits to deserve.

Few men have exhibited more remarkable examples of resolution in adversity, and of moderation in prosperity, than Fabius Maximus. It was when the Romans were in the midst of disgrace and distress, and almost despaired of being able any longer to continue a nation, that they committed the management of their affairs to him. At this time, he had, before his eyes, the frightful picture of defeat and disaster, of Roman consuls and generals slain, of fields and forests containing the dead bodies of whole armies. Notwithstanding all this, his intrepidity was unshaken. In the midst of the clamour, accusation, and reproach, which his enemies and rivals heaped upon him, he exhibited the firmest and most invincible patience. And, afterwards, with a magnanimity that cannot be exceeded, and has not often been equalled,

he saved, from destruction, and protected the reputations of many of those very men who had sought his ruin. How admirably also did he sustain the character of a humane and benevolent commander, when he sold even his own property to ransom, from captivity, those companions in arms, who had fallen into the hands of their Carthaginian enemies! Fabius was, on all occasions, solicitous to inspire his troops with the truest spirit of Roman courage; but it was also his care to instruct them, that valour would avail them little without the favour of heaven: that to obtain this was their first duty; and that, after having obtained it, no enemy was to be feared. Hence he was punctual in fulfilling all those religious duties, which, at the period in which he lived, were considered requisite to appease the anger, and obtain the favour of a Supreme Being, worshipped under many different appellations.

There are, however, a few particulars in the history of Fabius, which an admirer of his character would be desirous of passing over in silence. One of these was the cruelty which he exercised towards the inhabitants of Tarentum; and another, his conduct towards Scipio. But, there are so many circumstances of his life which deserve our admiration, that these become eclipsed by his numerous excellences. In the character of Fabius Maximus, it is peculiarly deserving of remark, that “it was not by any foreign expedition, not by invading the countries of peaceful nations, not by extending the power and dominions of Rome, that he gained his glorious name: but by his services to his country, in that most just of all military labours, a *defensive war*.”

Authorities.—*Plutarch and Livy.*

MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A Roman general of plebeian descent, who, as consul, was successfully employed in a war against the Gauls, took Syracuse after a siege of three years, was the colleague of Fabius Maximus in the second Carthaginian war, defeated Annibal at Nola; but was slain by a stratagem of that general in Apulia, in the year of Rome 545, and 209 years before the birth of Christ.

ALL that is known respecting the *origin* or the early years of Marcellus is, that he was descended from a plebeian, but respectable family in Rome, and was early trained to arms. He had a strong and muscular frame, and a powerful arm; a quick comprehension, and great talent, both natural and acquired; and received his *surname* in consequence of his martial character.

One of the first actions recorded of him is, that, whilst with the Roman army in Sicily, seeing his brother in danger, he protected him, and slew the persons by whom he was attacked. For numerous acts of bravery, during his youth, he received crowns and other military honours. At an early period of life he was chosen *curule ædile*, and was elected into the college of *augurs*; and it is an addition to his glory, that his virtues were uncorrupted by pride; and that they increased with his honours and his years.

In the year of the city 531, the Romans were involved in a contest with the Cisalpine *Gauls*, and Marcellus was appointed consul. Vast preparations were made, to oppose the Gaulish army; which, advancing in formidable array, had passed the Alps and had approached the banks of the Po. Marcellus headed the command of the Roman troops, and no sooner had he correctly ascertained the direction in

which the enemy were advancing, than he hastened to meet them. The two armies encountered near the little town of *Clastidium*, in Liguria.

The Romans had no time to obtain either rest or refreshment, for the enemy, having perceived their approach, rushed furiously upon them. Viridomarus, the king of the Gauls, a man of immense stature, clad in armour, richly adorned with gold and silver, and ornamented with the most brilliant colours, seeing Marcellus, and judging, from his ensigns of authority, that he was the Roman consul, advanced considerably before his men, brandished his spear, and loudly challenged his opponent to single combat. A little while before this, Marcellus had vowed to Jupiter that, if he were successful, he would consecrate to him the choicest of the enemy's armour; and, when he saw the Gaulish chief, thus decorated, he imagined the gods had indicated that his vow would be accomplished. He therefore accepted the challenge; and, in an irresistible attack, pierced, with his spear, the breast of his opponent, threw him upon the ground and slew him. Marcellus leaped from his horse, took off the armour from the king, and, in performance of his vow, consecrated it to Jupiter. The Roman soldiers also imagining that they had obtained a supernatural indication of success, immediately rushed upon their foes, and obtained a decisive victory over them.

Marcellus was the third Roman chieftain who had slain a king in battle, and had thus obtained what were called the *opime spoils*; that is, the armour of the commander who had been slain. These spoils were allowed to be carried, in the triumphal procession before the victor. The other successful Roman chiefs were Romulus, who slew Acrion king of the Cœninenses, and Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius, king of the Vegentes.

No sooner was this important victory made known in Rome, than the senate decreed that Marcellus

should be honoured with a *triumph*. On his entering the city, the rich display of arms and baggage that had been taken, the prodigious stature of the captives who marched in the triumphal procession, and the great magnificence with which the whole was conducted, excited general admiration. But the most remarkable object in the spectacle was Marcellus, carrying the armour of Viridomarus. He had caused the trunk of a mountain-oak to be hewn into the form of a trophy; and had adorned it with the spoils of the Gaulish king. When the procession began to move, Marcellus ascended his chariot, and passed through the city with the trophy upon his shoulders. The army followed, clad in armour, and singing odes composed for the occasion, and songs of triumph, in honour of Jupiter and of their general. When they came to the temple of Jupiter, Marcellus there set up his trophy, and consecrated it to that god.

So much delighted were the Roman people at this sudden and unexpected termination of the war, that they made an offering to Apollo, at Delphi, of an immense golden cup, in testimony of their gratitude to heaven for deliverance from so powerful and ferocious an enemy.

It was not very long after this that Marcellus had many important contests with Annibal, the Carthaginian general. Annibal had entered Italy; and, near Cannæ, a village in Apulia, had defeated the Romans with a loss greater than they had ever before experienced in one battle. Elated by this success, it was expected that he would march immediately to Rome. The Romans were in dreadful consternation. They armed every man who was capable of serving, and gave the chief command of their forces jointly to Marcellus and Fabius Maximus. The latter was a general of great talent, and celebrated for the cautious policy with which all his operations were conducted. The Romans were inclined to

consider him too dilatory: hence they were desirous of joining with him a man whom they could trust, and who would act with vigour.

Instead of marching towards Rome, as had been expected, Annibal proceeded to *Capua*; and, after having taken possession of that city, passed there the winter. Having no enemy near them, to dread, the Carthaginian troops spent the greatest part of their time in indolence and dissipation. One consequence of this was, that they became extremely weakened and disorderly. Marcellus, who was well informed respecting the state of the Carthaginian camp, considered this a fit opportunity for the Roman army to act. He, consequently, made a rapid march, suddenly attacked the enemy, and destroyed great numbers of them. Hastening thence, he proceeded to *Nola*, a fortified town, not far from Naples, and, at that time, garrisoned by the Romans. He entered the town; and, having drawn up his forces, and placed his baggage near the gates, he strictly prohibited any of the inhabitants from going upon the walls. Annibal, who had previously been there, tampering with the inhabitants, to surrender the place to him, again approached. Not observing any hostile appearance, he incautiously advanced to the walls. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate next him to be opened; and, sallying forth, with the best of his cavalry, furiously attacked the enemy in front: soon afterwards, the infantry, with loud shouts, rushed out at another gate; and, whilst Annibal was dividing his forces to encounter these two parties, a third gate was opened, and the rest of the Roman troops issued forth. The Carthaginians, excessively disconcerted by so unexpected an assault, were compelled to return to *Capua* with considerable loss.

In gratitude for his services, the Romans, in the year of the city 537, again appointed Marcellus to the office of consul; but he was prevented from ac-

cepting it, in consequence of a thunder-storm, which occurred during the time of the election. This was pronounced by the augurs to be an unfavourable omen; and they asserted that the election must be rendered void. Marcellus did not, however, lose the command of the army, for this was continued to him, in quality of pro-consul; after which he returned to *Nola*. During his absence, several of the inhabitants of *Nola* had declared themselves in favour of the Carthaginians. Annibal, in consequence of this, offered Marcellus battle; but he declined fighting, when he saw that his adversary might possibly obtain an important advantage over him. About four days afterwards, however, when he had ascertained that Annibal, not suspecting the Romans would venture to encounter him, had sent out a considerable part of his army in search of forage, Marcellus suddenly attacked the Carthaginians, and again defeated them.

In the ensuing year Marcellus was once more nominated to the consulship. He now sailed with a powerful force into Sicily, in consequence of the Carthaginians having obtained possession of *Syracuse*, the chief city of that island. He attacked the place, by storm, and took it; but, a little while afterwards, during his absence in another part of the island, it was retaken. This was so mortifying to him, that, immediately quitting all other concerns, he marched with his whole army, encamped before the city, and invested it both by sea and land.

The management of the army he gave to Appius Claudius, the prætor; and he took the command of the fleet himself. Among other offensive weapons, he had with him a prodigious engine, which was carried upon eight galleys fastened together. With this he approached the walls of the city, relying, for success, on the number of his batteries, and his various instruments of war, as well as on his own talents and experience. But he had not calculated on the

difficulties he should have to encounter from the talents of a single inhabitant of Syracuse; a philosopher named Archimedes.

The Syracusans were excessively terrified; but Archimedes was fully confident in the means that he could apply for the defence of the place. The city walls, having been built along unequal eminences, were, in most parts, high and difficult of access; but, in others, they were low and liable to attack. These walls were furnished, by Archimedes, with engines of various kinds, adapted to the nature of the different parts. The attack was commenced by Marcellus from the ships. Eight of his largest vessels were fastened in pairs; and upon them were erected turrets several stories high, having machines of various kinds for demolishing the walls. Archimedes attacked these with his engines; and, on the ships, which lay at a distance, he discharged stones of immense size and weight. In a part of the walls, near which the ships were most crowded, he used an engine composed of a long lever, supported at the middle, and fixed in such manner that one arm of it projected beyond the wall. From the extremity of this hung a strong chain, with an iron grapple, or two strong claws, at the end. The weight of the iron caused it to fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. The persons, on the walls, then loading, with lead, the opposite end of the lever, raised it up, and, with it, the bow of the vessel to which the grapple or claws were fastened, at the same time sinking the stern into the water. After this, the grapple suddenly letting go its hold, the stern of the vessel fell with such force into the sea, that the whole was filled with water and sunk. We are told that other vessels were caught hold of by grapples, and drawn towards the shore; where, being whirled about and dashed against the rocks, they were broken to pieces. Plutarch states that, in some instances, the ships were seen lifted up high

above the sea, where they were whirled round until the men were thrown out of them, by the violence of the motion; and that they were then split against the walls, or sunk, on the engines letting go their hold. With respect to the great machine of Marcellus, Archimedes, whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, is said to have discharged upon it a stone of enormous weight, and after that a second and a third; all of which falling with amazing force, shattered it to pieces. We are also told that Archimedes, at last, by means of a combination of mirrors, so concentrated the rays of the sun, as to set fire to the Roman fleet. Some allowance must, no doubt, be made for the exaggerated statements of the ancient writers; but, whatever the operations of Archimedes may have been, the effects of them were such as to compel Marcellus not only to draw off his vessels, but to order his land forces to retreat. Against the latter he is said to have shot missile weapons, and stones of such enormous size, as to have overturned and crushed whatever came in their way, and to have spread terrible destruction throughout the ranks.

Marcellus, however, did not raise the siege; he only retired, for the purpose of changing his mode of attack. By the recommendation of his officers, he was induced silently to approach the walls in the night, hoping to take the unsuspecting Syracusans by surprise; but, no sooner had he reached them, than his men were assailed by such a shower of darts, and were pelted with such huge pieces of rock, that they were compelled to retire with precipitation. When Marcellus had again collected his troops, he smiled at the puny efforts of his own engineers, and said to them, in a bantering manner: "Why do we not
" cease to contend with this mathematical Briareus,
" who, sitting on the shore, has baffled all our as-
" saults; and, in striking us with such a multitude
" of bolts at once, exceeds even the hundred-handed

“giants mentioned in our fables?” The Roman soldiers became so much terrified, that, if they saw but a rope or a stick put beyond the walls, they imagined that Archimedes was levelling his weapons at them, and instantly fled. The consequence was, that Marcellus was obliged to give up all thoughts of proceeding by assault; and to convert the siege into a blockade. He therefore so surrounded the place, with his troops and ships, that no supplies whatever, either of stores or provisions, could be sent into it. He thus hoped to starve the inhabitants into submission.

After a little while, however, he contrived to take the city by stratagem. When the place was invested, one of the principal inhabitants was taken prisoner. The Syracusans were desirous of ransoming him, by the payment of a sum of money; and many conferences were held for that purpose. In one of these Marcellus, who was always on the watch to take advantage of any inadvertence of his enemy, noticed a tower in the walls which was but slightly guarded. Into this he imagined that he could privately convey a considerable number of men. On a particular night, the festival of Diana, when the Syracusans had drunk freely, and had abandoned themselves to dissipation, Marcellus not only obtained possession of the tower, but, before daylight, had occupied the walls of all that quarter, with soldiers. This facilitated for him an entrance; and, shortly afterwards, he succeeded in taking possession of the city.

It is lamentable to read the occurrences which then took place. The authority of Marcellus was insufficient to restrain the licentious barbarity of the Roman soldiers. No sooner were they in possession of Syracuse, than they plundered, burnt, and levelled with the ground, the greatest number of the houses; and, in numerous instances, were guilty of the most wanton acts of barbarity.

Archimedes was slain, and several different accounts have been given of his death. One of these states that, at the time the city was taken, he was in his study, engaged in mathematical researches; and, that his mind was so intently occupied with the subject before him, that he neither heard the noise of the Romans, nor perceived that the Syracusans had lost their city. A soldier is said to have suddenly entered his room, and ordered the philosopher to follow him to Marcellus; and, on his refusing to do this, till he had finished his problem, the man drew his sword and killed him. Another account relates that the soldier went with a determination to destroy him; and that, Archimedes perceiving this, only requested a few minutes respite, that he might not leave his demonstration imperfect; but that the soldier, regarding neither the philosopher nor his demonstration, laid him dead at his feet. A third account informs us that, as Archimedes was himself going to Marcellus, and carrying in his hand a box, containing some curious mathematical instruments, he was met by a party of soldiers, who, imagining that it was filled with gold, slew him, and took it away.

Marcellus extremely regretted the death of this illustrious philosopher. He sent for his relations, and, as the only mode of recompence he could make, for the loss they had sustained, he conferred upon them many signal favours. Indeed, none of the Roman generals had a greater regard for equity than Marcellus. He was kind to all who deserved his regard; and so many benefits did he confer both upon cities and individuals, that if, in some instances, he has been accused of severity, the blame ought, perhaps, to be attributed more to the sufferers than to him.

In the siege of Syracuse he was occupied nearly three years; and after the place was taken, and he had made arrangements for the security of Sicily, he

was called to Rome, for the purpose of conducting a war in his own country. He carried away with him a great number of valuable statues and paintings, with which he intended to embellish his triumph. Hitherto the Roman capital had not possessed any curiosities of this kind: it was wholly a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance; for all its spoils had, till this period, been taken from barbarous nations.

The historian, Livy, thus moralizes respecting the articles that were brought from Sicily. "These (he says) were, no doubt, the spoils of enemies, and were acquired by the right of war, yet they gave rise to a taste for admiring the works of Grecian artists, and to the consequent unbounded rapacity with which all places, both sacred and profane, were plundered; and which was, at last, exercised even against the deities of Rome."

Marcellus was applauded by many of the Roman people, for introducing, into their city, curiosities in the Grecian taste; but others blamed him for bringing them: these asserted that such things would tend to effeminate a people whose most important pursuits were agriculture and war. The enmity thus excited, absurd as it may appear, caused a strong opposition to be made to his entering Rome in triumph; and he was consequently honoured with only what was called the *lesser triumph*. He, however, passed Mount Alba, about twelve miles from the city, in a very splendid manner; and, when he entered Rome, all the spoils which he had taken were borne in procession before him. Among other articles were a model, representing the captured city of Syracuse; various engines used in war: the valuable ornaments collected by the kings of Sicily, at a vast expence, and during a long continuance of peace; abundance of wrought silver, and brass furniture of various kinds; precious garments and many fine statues. Eight elephants, animals that had been

employed in battle by the Carthaginians, were also led in his train.

Notwithstanding the enmity of his opponents and rivals, the conduct of Marcellus, as a commander, was so correctly estimated by the Roman people, that, shortly afterwards, he was elected *consul for the fourth time*. His enemies, however, were instigated by some of the inhabitants of Syracuse, to accuse him, before the Roman senate, of having treated them with cruelty, and contrary to the acknowledged laws of warfare. Marcellus was absent when the deputation from Syracuse arrived; but, he was no sooner informed of the accusation, than he hastened to Rome. On the day of his trial, he first took the chair of state, and transacted some public business as consul: that ended, he left his seat, and went to the place appointed as the station of persons accused of crime. The Syracusans were astonished at the dignity of his manner. He who had been irresistible in arms, was still more terrible in his robes. He adduced convincing proofs that, notwithstanding many instances of criminal behaviour in that people, they had suffered nothing but what it was impossible for him to have prevented. The senate consequently decided in his favour.

The conduct of Marcellus, after this, was truly dignified. No sooner was he acquitted, than the persons who had preferred the complaint against him fell at his feet, and besought him with tears, to pardon the Syracusans for what they had done. Marcellus not only pardoned, but promised to them his protection; and the senate, at his suggestion, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and their remaining possessions. This people were not ungrateful for the favours they thus received. They conferred on Marcellus many distinguished honours. They even made a law, that whenever he, or any of his descendants should enter Sicily, the Syracusans should

wear garlands, and offer sacrifices for him to the gods.

After this decision of the senate had taken place, Marcellus was directed to *march against Annibal*, who was still in Italy. The system which had been adopted by the Roman generals was to act only on the defensive, in a hope that the resources of the Carthaginian would be exhausted, and he would be compelled to retire from the country. This plan, however, had not succeeded, and Marcellus resolved to open the campaign by offensive operations. He first recovered the possession of several towns which had revolted from the Romans; and, in these, he found considerable magazines of corn, and took many prisoners. He then entered Lucania, near the southern extremity of Italy, and found Annibal encamped on some heights, almost inaccessible, near the city of Numistro. Marcellus pitched his tents on the plain, and, the next day, drew up his forces in order of battle. This was a challenge which Annibal did not decline. He descended from the hills, and a ferocious, but indecisive combat took place. Early on the ensuing morning, Marcellus, having posted his men among the bodies of the slain, again challenged his foe; but Annibal, fearful of again encountering so skilful an opponent, retired to another part of the country. As soon as Marcellus had collected the spoils that had been left by the enemy, and had buried his dead, he marched in pursuit of him. Annibal attempted to deceive the Roman general by many stratagems, but Marcellus escaped them all, and had the advantage in every skirmish.

It was now agreed betwixt Marcellus and his colleague Fabius Maximus, that the latter should besiege *Tarentum* in Calabria, while the former watched the motions of Annibal. Marcellus overtook him near *Canusium*, where he experienced a partial defeat. He was so much irritated and mortified by

his want of success, that, after he had retreated to his camp, he summoned the troops, and angrily told them that "he saw, indeed, the arms and the bodies of Romans before him, but not one Roman."

This severe reproof operated so strongly upon their minds, that, on the ensuing morning, he again ventured to hang out a scarlet robe, the usual signal for battle. The Carthaginians were astonished at his perseverance. Annibal, on observing the signal, exclaimed: "Ye gods, what can be done with a man who is not affected either with good or with bad fortune? Marcellus is the only general I have seen, who will neither give time to rest when he is victorious, nor take any when he is beaten. We must even resolve to fight him forever: since, whether he is prosperous or adverse, a principal of confidence or of shame, equally impels him to further exertions of courage."

In the preparation for this battle, those companies of the Roman soldiers who had dishonoured themselves on the previous day, obtained permission to be placed in the foremost rank; and, as soon as all the arrangements were complete, the Romans marched to the attack. The battle was commenced by Annibal ordering several elephants, which he had with him, to be brought into the front of his army, and to be goaded on against the Romans. One of the tribunes snatched an ensign-staff, and, with the point of it, wounded the foremost elephant. The beast, on receiving the wound, turned back, and ran upon the second, the second on the next, and so on till they were all thrown into confusion. Marcellus, taking advantage of this, ordered his cavalry to make a furious charge. The Carthaginians were routed with the loss of about eight thousand men, and Annibal, to save the remainder of his army from destruction, was compelled to retreat. But so great was the loss sustained by the Romans, that Marcellus, unable to pursue him, retired into *Campania*.

Being now freed from fear of an attack,

Annibal ravaged all the country around him, and committed great devastation. This occasioned the enemies of Marcellus publicly to accuse him of having merely skirmished with the Carthaginians, and then of having indolently gone to spend his time, at the hot baths of Campania. Marcellus hastened to *Rome*, to justify his conduct; which he did so satisfactorily, that he was not only acquitted of the charge, but was again chosen consul.

Not long after this, he obtained permission to erect temples to two heathen deities, Honour and Virtue; and he caused them to be so placed, as to effect a very elegant architectural moral; no one could enter the temple of Honour, unless he first passed through that of Virtue.

When every thing had been arranged which had required his presence in Rome, he became impatient again to join the army: but he was not, for some time, permitted to do so. It was pretended that many unfavourable omens had been observed: for instance, that some rats had gnawed the gold, in the temple of Jupiter; that an ox had been heard to speak; and that a child had been born in the city, with an ox's head. Sacrifices, for expiation of these prodigies, were offered; but it was not until some time had elapsed, that they were declared to be such as the soothsayers approved.

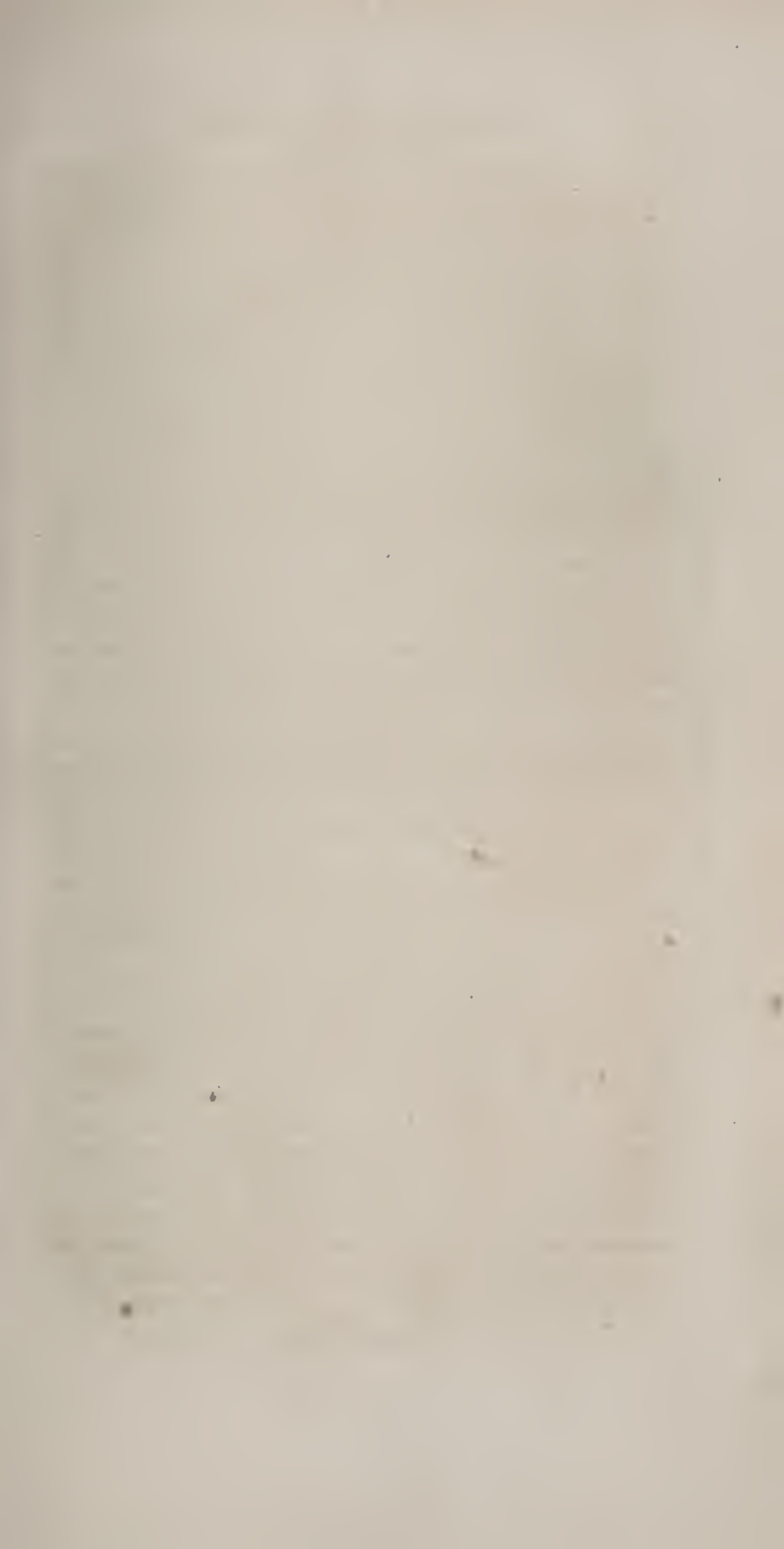
When permitted to depart, he proceeded towards *Venusia*, in Apulia; and, having there fixed his camp, he in vain tried every possible method to provoke his adversary to battle. Annibal not only himself avoided a disadvantageous conflict, but studied every means of gaining advantage over Marcellus; and was, at length, but too successful. He concealed a great number of armed men, on an eminence covered with thickets, which he thought the Romans might consider an advantageous position for their army. Marcellus did not discover the stratagem, and set out, in company with his son, his

colleague Crispinus, and two hundred and twenty horse soldiers, to examine the place. On his approach, the men in ambush rushed out. Marcellus was stabbed through the body and fell down *dead*; and Crispinus, and the son of Marcellus, were carried wounded from the field. This afflicting event took place in the year of the city 545, and when Marcellus was about sixty years of age.

As soon as Annibal was informed that Marcellus had been slain, he hastened to the place, and, standing over the body, silently contemplated it for some time. He appeared to be astonished at the strange death of so great a man; but he did not utter one insulting word respecting him, nor did he exhibit the slightest indication of joy. He then caused the body to be magnificently attired, and, according to the practice of the ancients, to be burnt. Afterwards, he had the ashes collected and put into a silver urn; and, having placed upon this, a crown of gold, he sent it to the son of Marcellus. But a party of Numidian soldiers, meeting the persons who carried the urn, attempted to take it from them; and in the struggle, the ashes were scattered upon the ground and lost.

Marcellus was singularly eminent for the acuteness of his judgment and the promptness of his actions. Hence it was that whilst Fabius Maximus was styled "the shield," he was denominated "the sword of Rome;" and hence Annibal was accustomed to assert, that "whilst he stood in fear of Fabius as his schoolmaster, he feared Marcellus as his opponent." This illustrious Roman was remarkable both for his probity and piety; and so sincere was his patriotism, that he patiently endured the various injuries and calamities with which he was, at different times, loaded by his ungrateful countrymen; he devoted his life to their service, and, at last, sacrificed it in their defence.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Livy, and Polybius.*





P. SCIPIO AFRICANUS.



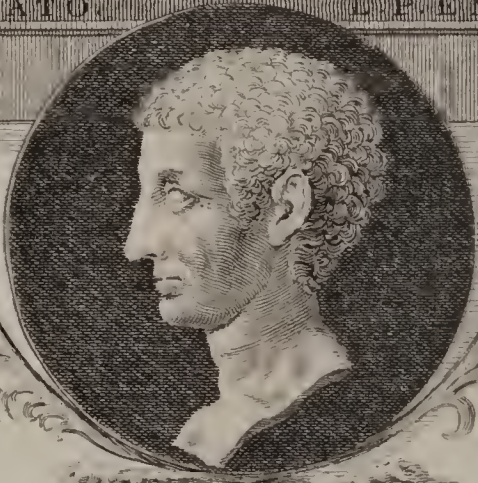
DE MAXIMO

DE MINIMO



DE METAURIS

DE METAURIS



T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

PUBLIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

A Roman consul who acquired great celebrity by defeating the Carthaginian generals, Asdrubal and Mago, in Spain, and Annibal in Africa: he terminated the second Carthaginian war, and for his services obtained the surname of "Africanus." He died in the year 565 of Rome, and 188 years before Christ.

Scipio was remarkable for his *filial affection*. In the second Carthaginian war, when he was about seventeen years of age, and his father, as one of the Roman consuls, was engaged in opposing the progress of Annibal into the Roman territory, a battle took place, in which the Roman troops gave way, and the consul, dangerously wounded, was surrounded by the enemy. The young Scipio, who was attended by a troop of select horseman as a guard, exhorted them to rescue his parent from destruction. They hesitated, and he furiously spurred his own horse into the midst of the combatants: his attendants, instigated by his example, followed: the body of the enemy was separated by the shock, and the life of his father was saved.

In the year of the city 539, when still young, he offered himself a candidate for the office of *curule edile*. The plebeian tribunes opposed his pretensions, on account of his youth. He, however, replied, that "if it were the will of the citizens to make him edile, he was old enough to fulfil the duties of the office;" and such was his popularity, that he was elected, by a great majority of votes.

About two years after this, the Roman army was defeated in Spain; his uncle and father were both killed, and many of the Spanish provinces abandoned their alliance with the Romans. A successor to these two eminent men could not easily be found;

and, in a public assembly, held for the purpose of considering the disastrous state of the Roman affairs in that country, no candidate appeared for so dangerous an office. The people looked, in vain, to the senators to make the appointment, and the senate, in their difficulty, were desirous of leaving the appointment to the people. But each party was unsuccessful. No one could be prevailed with to accept the command. A general silence ensued, and a general despondency. At length Scipio arose, and declared himself ready to pursue the footsteps of his father and uncle, though these should lead him to labours, to dangers, and even to death. The eyes of the whole assembly were instantly turned upon him, and the universal acclamations of favour and applause, testified the hopes which persons of all ranks were inclined to entertain of his success. According to Polybius, he was at this time twenty-seven years of age; but, according to Livy and Appian, he was only twenty-four. Notwithstanding his youth, it appeared, on taking the votes, that he was unanimously elected. No sooner, however, was the election terminated, than the people began to reflect on the precipitate manner in which they had acted; and to discover that they had been influenced rather by their inclination than their judgment. His early age was the principal cause of their uneasiness; but some of them began to forbode evil, in consequence of the recent misfortunes of his family. It was, however, too late to deliberate, after the appointment had been made.

In this early part of the history of Scipio, it may not be improper to speak of his *piety*: and to notice that, even from the period at which he assumed the manly gown, he seldom transacted any business, either public or private, without first paying his devotions to heaven. This practice, says Livy, which he observed through his whole life, induced many persons to believe that his origin was divine.

The same historian informs us, that when he was peculiarly desirous of effecting any purpose with the multitude, he would state that it had been recommended to him in a vision, or that it was the consequence of some admonition impressed upon his mind by the gods. But on this subject we labour under two difficulties: one, as to the actual state of the fact, whether he meant to impose a fiction upon the people, or whether he might really feel his mind so influenced, as to believe that he was favoured with divine inspiration. The other difficulty lies in the imperfect religious notions of the ancients, and the consequent incorrectness of explanation, in the historians, of what might really be the religious feelings of those persons respecting whom they wrote.

In the year of the city 541, Scipio sailed from Rome, with a fleet of thirty ships; and, coasting along the shore of the Tuscan sea, the Alps, and the Gallic Gulf, he disembarked at *Emporium*, a town founded by the Greeks. He thence ordered his fleet to follow, whilst he marched by land to a city called *Tarra*. At this place he held a convention of the Roman allies; and ambassadors were sent to him from several of the Spanish provinces. He afterwards visited the winter quarters of the Roman army, and was rejoiced to find that the enemy had not been permitted to derive much advantage from his recent success. The troops of the enemy were, at this time, in winter quarters, in different parts of the country. One division, under Asdrubal the son of Gisco, was at Gades, near the sea; another, under Mago, was in the interior of the country; and a third, under Asdrubal the son of Amilcar, was in the vicinity of Saguntum.

Instead of pursuing what appeared to other persons the most obvious measures, Scipio formed a plan of action, which was alike impenetrable to his own army and unsuspected by the enemy. As soon as the opening of the spring permitted him to move, and

he had concentrated and arranged his forces, he resolved not to attack the army of the enemy, but to make an unexpected attack on the city of *New Carthage*. This was not only a wealthy place, but was filled with a vast quantity of arms, ammunition, and stores. It was also conveniently situated, as a place of embarkation for Africa; and had an harbour sufficiently capacious to admit, if requisite, the whole Roman fleet. If he could succeed in taking this city, he knew that he should immediately deprive the enemy of some of his most important means of carrying on the war. A sudden attack was consequently made, both from the land and the sea; with some difficulty the Roman troops succeeded in scaling the walls; and, a short time afterwards, they rendered themselves masters of the place. The quantity of military stores and engines of war which it contained, was very great. Gold and silver to an immense value, was brought to the general. Among other articles, there were two hundred and seventy-six silver bowls, each nearly a pound in weight; eighteen thousand three hundred pounds weight of wrought and coined silver; and a prodigious number of silver vessels and utensils. There was also an astonishing supply of wheat and barley; and as much brass, iron, canvass, hemp, and other similar materials were found, as would have equipped a fleet of one hundred and thirteen ships.

In most respects Scipio afforded a brilliant example of united heroism and humanity; but, in the present as well as in a few other instances, he suffered himself, by a practice common among the Romans, to be led into the commission of great cruelty. To deter the garrisons of fortified places from continuing the defence of them until they should be attacked by storm, and should thus occasion an unnecessary loss of lives to the besiegers, it was customary, when a place was so taken, not only to plunder it, but to commit indiscriminate slaughter

among the garrison, and even among those of the inhabitants who had no concern in its defence. In the present instance, as soon as a certain number of troops had entered, Scipio gave direction to a portion of them to destroy all whom they should meet; and, at a particular signal, the slaughter ceased and the pillage of the place commenced.

After this, the prisoners were collected, and to the number of ten thousand, were brought before Scipio, in two separate bodies. The first of these consisted chiefly of the free citizens, with their wives and children; and, in the other, were the artificers and tradesmen of the city. Having exhorted the former to enter into the friendship of the Romans, he dismissed them. To the artificers, about two thousand in number, he said that, for the present, they were the slaves of the Roman commonwealth; but that, if they served their masters with alacrity in their several trades, they might obtain their freedom, as soon the war with the Carthaginians should be terminated. From the other prisoners he selected many to serve on boards his ships, on an assurance similar to that which he had made to the artificers. And he treated them all with so much greater kindness and humanity than had been expected, that he gained the general confidence of the citizens, and secured their attachment both to himself and his cause.

The Carthaginians had kept, in this city, numerous hostages which they had received from the different states of Spain. The whole of these, several hundreds in number, Scipio, with great policy, sent back to their relations, and without requiring for them any ransom.

Among other prisoners that were brought to him, was a young Spanish female, of high rank and exquisite beauty. This lady had been betrothed to a Celtiberian prince named Allucius, by whom she was passionately beloved. Scipio sent for her parents and her betrothed husband; and, on their arrival before him, he addressed himself to the

latter, stating that he was desirous of giving the young lady, in safety, to that person only, who, from the accounts he had received, appeared to be truly worthy of her. The youth, overwhelmed with joy, invoked the gods to recompence such exalted goodness. The parents of the lady had brought with them a valuable present of gold, intending to offer it in purchasing her liberty; and, when she was restored to them without ransom, they entreated of Scipio to accept that as a present, which he might have claimed as a right; assuring him that they should esteem themselves as much satisfied, by his compliance with their wishes in this respect, as they had been by his restoration of their child. Unwilling to reject a solicitation so urgent, he ordered the gold to be brought; then calling Allucius to him, he said: "Besides the dowry which you are to receive from your father-in-law, you must accept this marriage present from me." The gratitude of the young man for these unexpected honours and presents, induced him to make a levy among his dependants; and, in a few days, he returned to Scipio with a troop of fourteen hundred horsemen, to serve in the Roman army.

Towards the inhabitants of the country Scipio adopted the most conciliatory conduct. He returned all those who had been made prisoners. The wife and children of a distinguished commander, one of his opponents, had been taken: these also were sent back. It was impossible for Scipio to have adopted any mode of procedure better calculated to effect his designs of rescuing Spain from the power of the Carthaginians, and bringing the whole of that country into an alliance with Rome, than by humanity, rather than by the force of arms.

He next attacked and defeated the *army of Asdrubal*, taking upwards of twelve thousand prisoners; of whom he sent home, without ransom, all that were Spaniards. So highly were this people de-

lighted with his moderation, that a deputation of their chiefs waited upon him, for the purpose of soliciting him to assume the sovereignty of their country, and addressed him by the title of *king*. He, however, replied to them, that he could not abandon the cause of his country; and, consequently, that he neither would be a king nor would suffer himself to be called so; and that, in future, they must address him only by the title of general.

The Carthaginians, not long after this, were compelled to relinquish the whole of their possessions in Spain; and Scipio, now contemplating the probability of his being employed to combat this people in their own country, resolved, as preparatory to his future operations, to conciliate, as far as possible, the friendship of the several states adjacent to the Carthaginian territory. With this view he sailed, in two galleys, from New Carthage to the opposite coast of *Africa*, in a hope of being able to detach Syphax, king of the Massæsylians, from his alliance with the Carthaginians.

It happened that, at this very time, Asdrubal, driven out of Spain, entered the same harbour as Scipio. He had seven galleys, and might easily have overtaken and seized the Roman general, before he reached the shore; but, amidst the tumult which took place, in preparing, on one side for attack, and on the other for defence, both parties entered the harbour, and when there, neither of them dared to excite a disturbance, lest he should give offence to Syphax. After they had landed, Asdrubal proceeded to the king, and was followed by Scipio.

To Syphax it was a very flattering and a very singular occurrence, that the generals of two great nations should, on the same day, have come to solicit his friendship and alliance. He invited them both to his palace, hoping that, by an amicable conference, some arrangements might be made, which should end in a general pacification. Scipio de-

clared that he had no personal enmity against the Carthaginians, but said that he was not furnished with authority to enter into any negotiation for peace, without orders from the Roman senate. Syphax, however, prevailed with the two generals to sup together at his table, and was extremely delighted with the affability and conversational talents of Scipio: even Asdrubal strongly expressed his admiration of them. The influence of Scipio, and a dread of the Roman power, induced Syphax to enter into a private treaty with the Romans, by which he agreed to abandon his alliance with Carthage.

On his return to *Spain*, from which country he had been absent only four days, Scipio retook some cities, the inhabitants of which had revolted from the Romans; and, as a terror to others, he permitted his soldiers to commit great devastation in them. The inhabitants of one of them are said to have been all destroyed.

The operations of Scipio in Spain ceased in the thirteenth year after the commencement of the war, and in the fifth year after he had succeeded to the command of the army. On his return to *Rome* he was unanimously chosen consul; and, of the plunder he had obtained, he deposited, in the public treasury, fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver in bars, and a prodigious quantity of specie.

The Romans now became extremely anxious that he should transfer the seat of war into Africa. Many of the generals, however, jealous of his glory, strongly opposed this project; and even Fabius Maximus, though bending beneath the weight of years and military honours, expressed much uneasiness at Scipio's rising merit. In a speech, which he made before the Roman senate, he endeavoured to show that an expedition into Africa, would be attended with great danger, particularly if it were entrusted to the care of so young a man. In consequence of

this opposition, Scipio had not so unlimited a power given to him as he had expected. He, however, obtained the command of the Roman fleet which was kept on the coast of Sicily; and had permission, if he thought proper, to make a descent on the coast of Africa.

When he arrived in *Sicily*, he formed a corps of three hundred men, in the flower of their age and the vigour of their strength. These he did not supply with arms, and kept ignorant of the purpose for which they were reserved. He then chose three hundred Sicilian youths of distinguished birth and fortune, whom he appointed, as horsemen, to pass over with him into Africa. This service appeared to them very severe. To be removed so far from their friends, and to be exposed to fatigue and danger, excessively distressed them. Scipio stated that, if any of them were afraid of the service, they had only to declare their fears or disinclination, and they should be excused. One of them did so, and Scipio told him that he approved his candour and would provide him a substitute. It was, however, requisite that, to this person, he should deliver his horse, arms, and other implements of war, and that he should cause him to be trained for the service. With these terms he readily complied, and Scipio placed under his care one of the three hundred young men whom he had in readiness. All the other youths, seeing their comrade thus excused, adopted the same plan. By this stratagem the Roman general, without any expence to the public, was enabled to provide a corps of three hundred excellent horsemen, who afterwards performed for him many important services.

Scipio afterwards selected, from among his soldiers, all those on whom he could fully rely; and thus he had a select and powerful force. He embarked from Sicily, in four hundred transports, and fifty ships of war, all of which safely reached the *African*

coast. On his landing, the people of the whole adjacent country were so excessively alarmed, that they fled in every direction, driving before them all their cattle, and desolating the whole surrounding district. Scipio was shortly afterwards joined by Masinissa, king of Numidia, with a small force of cavalry; but he found that Syphax had abandoned the Roman interest, and renewed his engagements with the Carthaginians; and had even strengthened his alliance with that people, by marrying Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal.

Besides several other advantages, the Romans gained a complete victory over Asdrubal, which enabled Scipio to proceed into the country, and to lay siege to *Utica*. But, being unable to take this city before the approach of winter, he retired into winter quarters in its vicinity. Syphax had now joined the Carthaginians; and their united armies approached the Roman entrenchments, near *Utica*. Scipio defeated them, with so great a loss, that the inhabitants of Carthage, in the utmost consternation, began to strengthen the walls and outworks of their city. Every one exerted himself, to the utmost, in bringing, from the country, such things as were requisite for sustaining a siege. The Carthaginians had now no army left, capable of checking the progress of Scipio, except that of Annibal. They, consequently, recalled him, and the whole of his forces, from Italy; but, before his arrival, Syphax was wounded and made prisoner by Masinissa and the Roman general Lælius; and Asdrubal, who had been oppressed by the hatred of his fellow-citizens, from a suspicion that he had held a correspondence with the Romans, had destroyed himself by poison.

No sooner had Annibal landed, than he received the alarming information that all the country around Carthage was occupied by the Roman troops. It was, however, requisite for him to continue a few days on the coast, for the purpose of resting and

refreshing his army. When all his preparations were complete, he advanced; but he sent before him some spies, that, by them, he might ascertain the state of the Roman forces. These spies were intercepted, and brought to Scipio. He gave directions that they should be conducted through every part of the camp, and should see whatever they chose: he requested that they would attentively view the whole, and give, to their commander, a faithful account of what they had seen. After the orders of Scipio had been executed, the men were dismissed; but the particulars which they related, concerning the strength and position of the Romans, were so alarming, that Annibal was induced to request an immediate conference with Scipio, hoping that he might be able to obtain more advantageous terms of peace whilst his strength was entire, than after a defeat.

The *conference* took place within the view of both armies. It is said that the two generals were astonished at the sight of each other; and that, when they approached, they stood for some moments in profound silence. Annibal was the first who spoke. "Happy would it have been (said he,) if the Romans had never coveted any thing beyond the extent of Italy; nor the Carthaginians beyond that of Africa; but that each had remained contented with the possession of those fair empires which nature itself seems indeed to have circumscribed." Such was the observation of that general who, after the battle of Cannæ, was master of nearly all Italy, who, afterwards, advanced to the vicinity of Rome, fixed his camp within five miles of the city, and there deliberated in what manner he should dispose of the Romans and their country. "Behold me now (he continued) recalled to Africa, and holding a conference with a Roman general, to treat for the deliverance of my own country." Annibal, however, was either too fearful of making concessions, or Scipio too confident in his means of prosecuting the

war with success, for the contest to be yet amicably terminated. Each commander retired to his army, stating his resolution to abide only by the decision of a battle, and immediate preparations were made for action.

On the ensuing day, a conflict, one of the most tremendous that has been recorded in the annals of the world, took place, and hastened the termination of what is called the second Punic or Carthaginian war. *Annibal was totally defeated*; and with a loss of more than forty thousand men, one hundred and thirty-three military standards, and eleven elephants. During the confusion of the retreat, he escaped, with a few horsemen, to Hadrumetum, after having, in vain, used every effort to rally his troops. He thence returned to Carthage, in the thirty-sixth year after he had left it, a boy. On the senate being assembled, he asserted to them that the Carthaginian forces were wholly vanquished, and that an immediate peace could alone save his country from ruin. In the mean time, Scipio pillaged the enemy's camp, and conveyed an immense booty to the sea-coast, to be embarked thence for Italy.

The Carthaginians sent ambassadors to Scipio, to sue for *peace*. This was granted, on condition that they should surrender to the Romans all the deserters and prisoners which they had taken, all their ships of war, except ten, and all their trained elephants: that they should immediately give possession, to the Romans, of all the places they held in Italy and Sicily, and all the islands betwixt Africa and Italy; and that they should not make war either in or out of Africa, without permission of the Roman government; and that, for fifty years, they should pay an annual tribute to Rome.

These terms, severe as they may seem to us, were considered moderate by the ancients. Velleius Paterculus, denominates "Carthage a monument of the clemency of Scipio;" and Livy says that "the

“Romans afforded a signal proof of their moderation, in the peace which was granted to Annibal and the Carthaginians.”

As soon as all the arrangements for peace were complete, Scipio embarked his army, and returned to *Italy*; and so delighted were the Romans with his success, that not only the inhabitants of the towns, through which he passed, flocked together to see the deliverer of their country, but crowds of people, even from distant parts of the country, almost filled up the roads. He entered Rome in triumph, at the head of a splendid cavalcade; and carried into the treasury one hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds weight of silver. It was after this triumph, and in consequence of his successes against the Carthaginians in Africa, that Scipio was honoured with the surname of *Africanus*.

In the year of the city 553, he and Publius Ælius Pætus were elected *censors*. Not long after this we find him, in the Roman senate, with true generosity and nobleness of mind, defending the cause of Annibal. Since the late peace, Annibal had assiduously employed himself, at Carthage, as a civil magistrate and a leading member in the legislative assemblies of his country. In these assemblies he resolutely and successfully defended the lives and property of his countrymen against the power, the insolence, and the tyranny of the Carthaginian judges. He also effected many important reformations in the revenue of his country; and, as it was then a period of great distress, he insisted that, if all the arrears which were due to the public were paid, the exigencies of the state would be supplied. Conduct like this occasioned a great outcry against him, by persons who had long been preying upon the public property. These found means to instigate even the Romans against him; and to induce the senate to send ambassadors to Carthage on the subject. Scipio, however, long and earnestly contended that it was be-

neath the dignity of the Roman senate, to encourage the accusers of such a man as Annibal; and that they ought to be satisfied with having humbled him in the field, and not now to be influenced against him by the calumny and detractions of self-interested persons.

Six years after this, Scipio was a second time elected *consul*, and had, for his colleague, Tiberius Sempronius Longus. His hope, in this year standing for the consulate, is supposed to have been that he might either be sent into Asia, to commence a new war against Antiochus, king of Syria, who had menaced Europe with an invasion, or that he might obtain the province of *Spain*, to settle the tranquillity of that country, which he had formerly conquered, and where Cato had recently acquired great glory. He obtained the latter, but, when he arrived there, he found that the success of Cato had left him nothing of importance to finish.

After the termination of his consulship, war was declared against *Antiochus*; and Scipio accepted the office of lieutenant-general under his brother, in an expedition which was fitted out against that monarch. The two Scipio's landed, with their army, in Greece; and, having passed through Thessaly, Macedon, and Thrace, they crossed the Hellespont, into Asia.

Annibal, who had been driven from Carthage, and had sought protection in the states of Asia, had told Antiochus that, "if he did not find employment for the Romans at home, he would soon be under the necessity of fighting in Asia; for those republicans (said he) aim at nothing less than the empire of the world." It was now that Antiochus, for the first time, ascertained the correctness of this counsel. Alarmed for the safety of his dominions, he sent an ambassador to the Romans to sue for peace. The ambassadors, unable to arrange any satisfactory terms with the council appointed to receive them, obtained a private interview with Scipio, and offered to

him, from Antiochus, the restoration of his son, who was then a prisoner in the Syrian camp, together with a present of an immense value, and even a share in the government, if, through his influence, peace could be obtained. The patriotic Roman thus replied: "I should esteem my son the greatest gift that could be bestowed by royal munificence; any favour beyond this, my honour would not suffer me to accept. If the king restore my son, I shall ever acknowledge the obligation, and, in return, shall rejoice in the opportunity of testifying any similar mark of respect for him. Further I cannot go. My public character is sacred, and shall be unimpeached: in my official capacity I will neither receive nor confer any private favour." The proposals of Antiochus were rejected, yet he had the generosity to restore the son of Scipio, and without ransom.

The Roman army passed through Troy; and, after it had crossed the river Hyllus, offered battle to Antiochus, near the city of *Magnesia*. Scipio had been seized with an illness which prevented him from being present at the conflict that took place. In the Syrian army were marshalled a vast number of camels, and fifty-four large elephants, each carrying a tower filled with slingers and archers: there was also a long range of war-chariots, armed with scythes from the centre of the wheels. The number of soldiers was, in the whole, about eighty-two thousand, and that of the Roman troops not more than twenty-eight thousand; yet the Romans were by no means intimidated, and, before Scipio could join him, the consul had obtained so complete a victory, that Antiochus was glad to submit to such conditions of peace, as the Romans chose to grant.

After this we find Scipio again in *Rome*, where, for his eminent services, he obtained the appellation of *the great*. For some time after his return from Africa, the Romans had heaped upon him all pos-

sible honours. The people had wished to make him even perpetual consul and dictator; but, more desirous of meriting than of obtaining honours, he severely reprov'd them for proposing to place him in a station which was incompatible with the liberty of his country. After a little while, however, he experienced, what he had often before observed towards others, the mutability of popular applause. At the instigation of Cato, a *prosecution was instituted against him*, on a charge of having received, from Antiochus, a sum of money, to obtain for him advantageous terms of peace. The conqueror of Asdrubal, of Annibal, and of Carthage; the man whom, not long before, they had been so anxious to appoint perpetual consul and dictator, was now reduced to make his defence as a criminal; and this he did with the same magnanimity which had distinguished all his actions. As his accusers, from want of proofs, used only invective, he contented himself, on the first day, with the usual defence of great men on similar occasions, a recital of his services and exploits; which was received with great applause. On the ensuing day, he said: "Tribunes of the people, and you, my fellow-citizens, it was on this day that I conquered Annibal and the Carthaginians: let us hasten to the capitol, and offer our thanksgivings to the gods, and pray that they may always grant to you generals as successful as I have been." The people followed him, and the tribunes and crier of the court, were left nearly alone. The accusation was renewed a third time, but Scipio now either refused, or was unable to appear: his brother alleged that he was so ill as to be unable to attend: and Livy asserts that the trial terminated by the severest reproaches being thrown upon his accusers.

Scipio had long and well known what value to set on popular favour. "The multitude (said he, on one occasion) is easily deceived. It is impelled

“ by the slightest force to every side; it is suscep-
 “ tible of the same agitation as the sea. For, as the
 “ sea, though in itself calm and stable, and without
 “ the appearance of danger, is no sooner set in mo-
 “ tion by some violent blast, than it resembles the
 “ winds themselves which raise and ruffle it; so, in
 “ precisely the same manner, does the multitude as-
 “ sume an aspect conformable to the designs and
 “ the temper of those leaders, by whose counsels it is
 “ swayed and agitated.”

Disgusted with the ingratitude of his countrymen, and having now learned to despise both popular applause and popular condemnation, he retired, as a voluntary exile, to his country house at *Liternum*, on the sea-shore, near Cuma, where, during the remainder of his life, he chiefly employed himself in agriculture and study, and in conversation with the best-informed and most honourable men of his time.

Two hundred years after the death of Scipio, the philosopher Seneca visited his house and tomb, and thus speaks of him: “ Under the roof of Scipio I
 “ now write. I have performed my homage at his
 “ tomb; and confidently do I believe that his soul is
 “ now above, whence it descended to bless our
 “ world. His moderation and his piety each demand
 “ our admiration, and more, perhaps, when he left
 “ his country, than when he saved it.”

Authorities. — *Livy*, *Polybius*, *Velleius Paterculus*; and
Appian.

TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS.

A Roman consul, who defeated Philip, king of Macedon, and afterwards liberated the states of Greece; and who, during an embassy to Prusias, king of Bithynia, caused the Carthaginian general, Annibal, to destroy himself by poison.

He is supposed to have died about the year 573 of Rome, and 181 years before Christ.

LIKE nearly all the Roman youths, Titus Quintius Flaminius, or Flamininus as he is called by some writers, was trained to the profession of arms. He first served as a *legionary tribune*, under the consul Marcellus, during the war with Annibal; and, after the death of Marcellus, though at that time scarcely more than twenty years of age, he was appointed governor of *Tarentum*. Here he acquired so much celebrity, in his administration of justice, as afterwards to be appointed to the chief direction of two colonies that were sent to *Narnia* and *Cossa*.

It is remarked, by Livy, that in the year of the city 551, the Roman stage games were exhibited in a sumptuous manner, and for two days, by the *curule ædiles*, Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Lucius Quintius Flaminius.

In the thirtieth year of his age, he was elected *consul*, though he had not served the usually intermediate offices of tribune and prætor; and it fell to his lot to conduct the war which the Romans were, at this time, carrying on against *Philip king of Macedon*. He sailed from Brundisium with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse soldiers; and, having reached the island of Corcyra, he passed thence into Epirus, to the Roman camp. Philip, anxious to negociate a peace, held a conference with Flaminius, for that purpose; but it terminated with-

out the desired effect. He, however, obtained a truce for two months, and took this opportunity of marching to a considerable distance, and posting his army in the midst of a strong and apparently inaccessible part of the country; in the defiles of Epirus, on the banks of the river Aous.

Under the guidance of a herdsman, accustomed to traverse all the paths of an intervening forest, Flaminius, however, was enabled to send a body of troops to a spot which overlooked the enemy's camp. These, when they had reached the place, made a previously concerted signal, to inform him of their success. On seeing this, he marched the other part of his forces against the enemy, in a different direction, and defeated them with considerable loss.

Retiring, with precipitation, from the field of battle, Philip proceeded towards Thessaly, plundering the towns, desolating all the country which lay in his road, and carrying along with him, a great number of the inhabitants. The consul followed him, and, having his army in a state of strict discipline, he adopted a plan wholly different. He spared the country with as much care as if it had been a Roman province, and the event answered his expectations; for his army had no sooner entered Thessaly, than all its cities declared in favour of the Romans.

To the Grecians, Flaminius had, previously, been represented as the ferocious commander of a host of barbarians, who were come to destroy and to ruin; and to reduce the whole population to a state of slavery. This representation, however, proved in no respect injurious to him; for, when the Grecian commanders were afterwards introduced to him, and found him well acquainted with their language, mild and affable in his manners, and a man of strict honour and integrity, they opened to him the gates of their cities, and united their forces with his, in a confidence that he would conduct them to liberty.

When the term of his consulship had expired, Flaminius was permitted, as proconsul, to carry on the Macedonian war, until its conclusion. In conjunction with his new allies, he defeated Philip, near a place in Thessaly, called *Cynocephalæ*. In this battle, Philip lost nearly the half of his army; and, after its termination, he had great difficulty in effecting his own escape. Unable, any longer, to resist the power of the Romans, he obtained another interview with Flaminius, and was glad to conclude a peace with them on the conditions which had before been proposed to him; that he should evacuate every province and town, then possessed by him, in Greece and Asia, pay an annual sum by way of tribute, deliver up all his large ships except five, and be received as an ally of Rome.

Flaminius, having thus successfully terminated the Macedonian war, returned into *Greece*. The different states of that country had long been oppressed by the Macedonian princes; and they were now wholly at the mercy of the Roman conqueror. He encamped his troops on the Isthmus of Corinth, at the time of the Isthmian Games. To these games, immense multitudes of people had assembled, from all the towns of Greece; and, whilst the numerous spectators were sitting in the circus, a Roman herald entered the arena, and, with the sound of a trumpet, demanding the attention of the spectators, he made this solemn proclamation. "The senate and people of Rome, and Flaminius, the general of their armies, having subdued Philip and the great kingdom of Macedonia, proclaim it their will that the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubæans, Archæans, Thessalians, and all other states of Greece, whether in Europe or in Asia, shall from this day be FREE."

The first time that the proclamation was made, the whole vast audience stood in silence and amazement. They could scarcely believe what they had

heard; they looked on one another, as if they all thought it only a dream. But, when the proclamation was made a second time, the burst of delighted acclamation was so tremendous, that birds, flying over the circus, are said to have dropped down dead; the hills and the shores resounded; and ships, far out at sea, felt the shock of the triumphal shout.

On his leaving the circus, the whole assembly followed the Roman commander to his camp, with shouts of exultation and of gratitude. To Flaminius this was, indeed, a glorious day, for to him only could the merit of it be ascribed; and most of his conduct, during his continuance in Greece, was worthy of so excellent a beginning. Polybius, speaking of his negociations in Greece, ascribes all the success of this general to his foresight and admirable management. "There was not (he says) a man in Rome more dexterous, or who, either in the conduct of public affairs, or in the advancement of his own particular interests, exhibited greater wisdom or ability than Flaminius; and yet he was not, at this time, more than thirty years of age."

Of Sparta alone Flaminius was unable to effect the deliverance, for it was subject to a tyrant so wicked, and at the same time so powerful, and his troops had received so severe a check, in an attack upon it, that Flaminius was obliged to abandon it to its fate. But the other states he not only liberated from the power of their oppressors, but he now withdrew from them all his own troops. Nor was liberty the only benefit which he conferred upon them. So far was he from the mean policy of sowing party dissensions and factious hatreds among any people, for the purpose of rendering the power of a bad government irresistible by them all; that, like a parent ardently desirous to promote the happiness of his children, he exerted his utmost influence to reconcile them to each other, and to establish not only a good government, but mutual and universal concord.

In return for the benefits which he had conferred on Greece, he required only one favour. During the Carthaginian war, Annibal had made captive a great number of Romans, and had sold them, into different countries, as slaves. Twelve hundred of these unhappy men were now in Greece. Flaminius, therefore, expressed a hope that, in return for the benefits which he had conferred upon the Grecians, they would not refuse to give freedom to a portion of that nation, from whom they had themselves so lately received their own. The Achæans purchased these slaves, at the rate of five minæ (about sixteen pounds sterling) each man; and presented them, in a body, to Flaminius, when he was making preparations to leave the country.

On his return to *Rome*, Flaminius was honoured with a *triumph*, which was remarkable for lasting three days. Among the principal decorations of the solemnity, were Demetrius, son of the king of Macedonia, and Armenez, son of the tyrant of Sparta, whom he had brought with him as hostages for peace; there were also carried, in the procession, one hundred and fourteen crowns of gold, which Flaminius had received from so many Grecian cities, in grateful acknowledgment for the restoration of their liberties; the Grecian helmets and Macedonian targets and spears, with other spoils; three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds weight of unwrought gold; forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy-three ounces of silver, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen pieces of coined gold. But, to the feelings of humanity, it was chiefly gratifying to witness the triumphal entry of Flaminius, not on account of the richness of the spoils, nor of the number of captives, in fetters, who followed, in sad dejection, the conqueror's chariot; but of the numerous Roman citizens whom he had released from captivity, and who now accompanied him.

It has been well observed that, if such had always been the honours and pleasures of the great men of this famous nation: if Rome had thus always placed her happiness in doing good; had always followed the exalted spirit of such majestic benevolence, making it the constant and the real object of her military labours, to deliver, by her power, the neighbouring nations from tyranny and oppression, the Roman history would have been truly glorious. But, alas! in nearly every instance, this ambitious people subjugated instead of liberated; and they were, in general, much more attentive to the increase of their own wealth, dominion, and power, than to the promotion of happiness among mankind.

After the peace with Philip had been ratified, Antiochus, king of Syria, passed into Greece with a powerful fleet and army, and, having solicited the Grecian states to join him, the Ætolians were induced to do so. The Romans, either fearing, or pretending to fear a general revolt of these states, sent Flaminius thither, with a view of keeping them steady to their alliance with Rome. His appearance amongst them prevented those who were wavering, from entire defection; and some of the states, which had recently become decided enemies to Rome, were overcome by his mild and equitable treatment of them.

In the year of the city 564, Flaminius was created *ensor*, and had, for his colleague, the son of the celebrated Roman general, Marcellus. This was about five years before the censorship of Cato. With the latter, when in office, he had a quarrel very unworthy of a man whose character was, in most respects, well deserving of imitation. Lucius, the brother of Flaminius, a man who had served the consular office, was so abandoned in his pleasures, and so totally regardless of moral feeling, that he had been guilty of a murder, for the mere amusement of a boy

who resided with him. Cato caused him to be expelled the senate. This gave great offence to Flaminius. He did not pretend to justify the conduct of his brother; but, erroneously considering that his family was more disgraced by the upright decision of the censor, than by the conduct of which his brother had been guilty, he leagued with the enemies of Cato, and, gaining a majority in the senate, he opposed him in every possible way. He caused all the contracts, leases, and bargains, which Cato had made, for the benefit of the public revenue, to be annulled; and he occasioned many prosecutions to be instituted against him. Such conduct, however, was neither politic nor honourable. Cato appears to have only fulfilled the duties of his office, and the punishment inflicted upon Lucius was even more lenient than he deserved.

After the defeat of Antiochus, that monarch retired to Crete, and thence into Bithynia. Prusias, the king of Bithynia, was then at war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, a faithful ally of the Romans; and, by the instigation of Annibal, Philip of Macedon had joined his forces with those of Prusias. At the request of Eumenes, the Romans were induced to send an ambassador to Prusias, and Flaminius was the person selected for this office. On his arrival at the court of *Bithynia*, he found there the aged Carthaginian general, who, exiled from his own country, had placed himself under the protection of Prusias. Flaminius demanded that he should be given up to the Romans. Prusias used much entreaty in behalf of a man who had come to him a suppliant for protection, and who had hitherto resided with him, under the sanction of hospitality. This, however, was to no purpose; he was obliged to yield to the demand, but, before the purpose of Flaminius could be accomplished, the veteran had destroyed himself by poison.

When intelligence of this event was conveyed to Rome, many of the senators expressed great indignation at the conduct of Flaminius. Plutarch asserts that he had demanded the person of Annibal, without any authority from the Romans; and only from a love of fame, actuated by a desire to be recorded, in history, as the destroyer of the great Carthaginian hero. If so, all his preceding virtues were scarcely sufficient to redeem his character from the infamy of so base an action. How much is it to be regretted, that, among the worthies of antiquity, there is scarcely one to be found, whose example can be safely held out for imitation; and whose reputation, though deserving of applause in many particulars, is not, in others, lamentably deficient.

Nothing seems to be known respecting Flaminius, from the time of his embassy to Prusias, until his *death*; and all that Plutarch states respecting this is, that he died in his bed.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Livy, Polybius, and Appian.*

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO.

THE CENSOR.

An illustrious Roman, remarkable for bravery, temperance, and justice; and for the severity of his manners; and, in the latter part of his life, for avarice, and for an inveterate enmity against Carthage.

He died at the age of about ninety years, in the year of Rome 605, and 149 years before the birth of Christ.

THE singular austerity of his own manners, and the important reformation which he effected in those of his countrymen, have obtained for this eminent Roman, a high degree of celebrity.

He was *born* about two hundred and thirty years before the Christian era, at Tusculum, a town twelve miles east from Rome. The name of his family was Priscus, but he received the appellation of *Cato**, on account of his great prudence. His father was of plebeian rank, but a military officer, who had served, during several campaigns, in the Roman army.

Cato is said to have had a harsh countenance, red hair, and grey eyes; and an inflexibility of *character* which, in some degree, corresponded with the harshness of his features. We are told that, even from his infancy, he indicated, by his mode of speaking, by his countenance, and even by his childish recreations, an extraordinary firmness of mind. He always persevered in accomplishing what he undertook, however unsuited it might have been either to his inclination or his strength. He was rough towards those who flattered him, and wholly untractable when threatened. He was rarely seen to laugh, or even to smile; and was not easily provoked to anger; but, if once incensed, it was not without great difficulty that he could be pacified.

From a very early period of his life, Cato accustomed himself to endure hardships and fatigue. He also studied the graces of eloquence; and, even whilst a boy, was considered an excellent orator. The first tendency of his ambition was to military glory. He became a *soldier* at seventeen, and served in the Roman army against Annibal, when that commander was in the height of his prosperity. As a soldier his courage was invincible. He always marched on foot, bearing his own weapons, and attended only by one servant, who carried his provisions; and so abstemious was he, that he was contented with whatever was set before him. When

* *Catus* is a Latin adjective signifying *wise* or *prudent*.

he was not immediately engaged in military duty, he himself often turned cook; and assisted in dressing his own dinner. But his conduct in *retirement* was much more interesting than his character as a soldier. In the country of the Sabines he had a little cottage and farm, which had been left to him by his father, and had formerly belonged to Manlius Curius Dentatus, whose memory he greatly revered. At this farm, during the early part of his life, Cato chiefly resided. He was delighted in reflecting on the smallness and meanness of the dwelling; and, on the character and virtues of the man, who had retired to it after three triumphs, and who had cultivated, with his own hands, the grounds attached to it. At this cottage it was that the ambassadors of the Samnites had found Curius Dentatus, in his chimney-corner, employed in dressing turnips; it was here that they offered to him a large present of gold; which he, unhesitatingly, rejected, observing, that a man who could be satisfied with a supper of turnips, had no need of gold. Influenced by this example, Cato adopted every means of increasing his own labour, and retrenching his establishment and expenses.

Valerius Flaccus, a nobleman of great eminence, possessed an estate contiguous to the farm of Cato; and he had often heard his servants speak of the laborious and temperate life of his neighbour. Among other things, they told him that Cato was accustomed to go, early in the morning, to the little towns in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of pleading the causes of such persons as applied to him; that, thence he would return to his farm, where, in a coarse frock, if it were winter, or naked if it were summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down and partake of their homely food. They related many other instances of his moderation and condescension; and recited many of his sayings, which exhibited great good sense, and a

correct knowledge of mankind. In short, the accounts which reached Valerius, concerning his neighbour, were altogether so surprising, that he was resolved to call upon him. He did so, and, astonished at the singularity of his character and his extraordinary talents, he became interested in his welfare. He made him known to several other noblemen; and, soon afterwards, prevailed with him to leave his retirement, and become a candidate for public honours.

Thus, from a little village and a country life, was Cato launched into the Roman government, as upon a boundless ocean, and at a time when the people were accustomed to regard the distinctions of opulence and family as of high importance. But his talents were too great, and his ambition, now roused, was too ardent to be depressed by common opposition. In Rome he assumed the character of an *advocate*, and his pleadings soon obtained for him both friends and admirers. The interest of Valerius greatly aided his rise to preferment. He was first made *military tribune* and afterwards *quæstor*; and, in each of these employments, he attained considerable reputation. He was afterwards joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities; being the colleague of this nobleman both as consul and censor.

Whilst he was *quæstor*, Cato served in the Roman army under Scipio, in *Sicily*. He was a great admirer of Fabius Maximus; but not so much on account of his reputation or his power, as for the correctness of his life and manners. The liberality of Scipio's disposition did not accord with Cato's rigid notions of economy. Cato remonstrated with him, in the strongest terms, respecting what he considered a wanton profusion of the public money; but Scipio replied, that "his country expected an account of services performed, not of money expended." Unable to check his extravagance, Cato afterwards laid before

the Roman senate, a formal complaint against Scipio. The consequence of this was the appointment of commissioners to Sicily, for the purpose of examining into the state of his proceedings. Scipio exhibited, to these commissioners, the state of his troops and his fleet, and dismissed them, highly gratified by his attentions and treatment. On their return to Rome, they informed the senate, that, "although the general
"passed his hours of leisure in a cheerful manner
"with his friends, yet, that his liberal style of living
"had not caused him to neglect his duties as a
"commander."

From this period Cato continued to reside chiefly in *Rome*; where, by his eloquence, he obtained the appellation of the "Roman Demosthenes." His excellence, as a public speaker, excited a general emulation among the young men of the city; but few of them were willing to imitate the practice, which he still continued, of tilling the ground with his own hands, and living in the most frugal and abstemious manner. Few, like Cato, could be satisfied with a plain habit and a poor cottage; or could think it more honourable not to want the superfluities of life than to possess them. Justly, therefore, was he entitled to admiration; for, whilst other citizens were alarmed at labour, and enervated by pleasure, he alone remained unconquered by either.

It is said that the garments of Cato were always of the plainest kind; and that, even when he was consul, he drank the same common wine as his slaves. Finery of every description he held in contempt. The walls of his country-house were entirely naked, unadorned either with plaster or white-wash. Through his whole *establishment*, he invariably preferred utility to ornament. The Romans were chiefly served by slaves; and although the handsomest slaves were those principally esteemed, Cato chose his only by their strength and ability to labour; and, when they grew old, he always sold

them, that he might not have any thing useless to support. On this subject, however, Plutarch justly says: "It is almost impossible to attribute Cato's
 " using his servants like so many beasts of bur-
 " den, and turning them off or selling them when
 " grown old, to any other than a mean and ungene-
 " rous spirit, which accounts the sole tie, between
 " man and man, to be interest or necessity. A
 " good man will take care of those beings who are
 " dependent on him, not only whilst they are young,
 " but when they are old and past service. We
 " ought not to treat living creatures like our clothes
 " or furniture, which, when worn out with use, we
 " throw away. For my own part, (continues this
 " amiable and excellent writer,) I would not sell
 " even an ox that had laboured for me; much less
 " would I banish, for the sake of a little money, a
 " man grown old in my service, for he could be of no
 " more use to the buyer than he was to the seller."

But Cato was, in every particular, a rigid *econo-
 mist*. He thought nothing cheap that was super-
 fluous; and what a man had no need of, he consider-
 ed to be dear, even at the lowest price. He used to
 say, on the subject of pleasure-grounds, that "it
 " was better to have fields, where the plough can
 " work or cattle feed, than fine gardens and walks,
 " which require much watering and sweeping."

He was a man of astonishing *temperance*. When
 a general in the Roman army, his expenditure was
 much less than that of any officer of equal rank.
 And, afterwards, when he was governor of Sardinia,
 where many of his predecessors had lavished enor-
 mous sums, Cato was of no expence to the public.
 Instead of using a carriage, as all preceding govern-
 ors had done, he walked from town to town, attend-
 ed by a single officer. Indeed, in all things of this
 description, he was one of the most contented of
 men; and, in every particular relative to the govern-

ment, and especially in the rigid execution of his orders, none could exceed him.

About this period the attention of the public was called to the discussion of a law which had been established about twenty years before, and which required that "no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold, nor wear a garment of various colours, nor use a carriage drawn by horses, in any city or town, nor in any place nearer than one mile to a city or town, except when authorized to do so, by joining in some public religious solemnity." Two of the tribunes now proposed that this law should be repealed; and, at the time fixed for the subject to be discussed, the capitol was filled by an immense crowd of people, some to support and others to oppose it. Nor could even the matrons (says Livy) be detained in their houses, by advice or by shame, or even by the commands of their husbands. They beset every street in the city, and every pass to the capitol. They came even from distant towns and villages, and were urgent with the consuls, the prætors, and other magistrates, to grant them a freedom, in these particulars, equal to that enjoyed by the men. They applied to Cato, as one of the consuls, but to no purpose; for he addressed a powerful harangue, against the repeal of what he considered so beneficial a law. They, however, had so much influence as to overpower all his arguments; to obtain its repeal; and thus to be allowed to wear whatever clothes, and to travel in whatever manner, they pleased.

In the year of the city 557, Cato was appointed *consul*. A consular army was necessary for a war which was carrying on in *Spain*, and the command of it fell, by lot, to him. The troops, however, with which he had to sail for that country, it cost him much labour to train, so as to be fit for service; and, in the Spaniards, he had to oppose a people, who, both from the Romans and the Carthaginians, had, of late, been gradually acquiring the art of war.

On landing in Spain, he immediately sent away all his ships, that the troops which he had brought might place their only hopes of safety in their own valour; and, with a similar design, when he approached the enemy, he made a circuit, and posted his men on a plain so situated, that the Spaniards were between him and his camp. As they could not, in the former instance, retreat to their ships, so, in this, they could not attain security in their camp but by victory.

While Cato was here actively employed, in subduing some of the people by arms and winning others by kindness, a large army of Spaniards suddenly attacked him, and he was in danger of being totally defeated. In this dilemma, he sent to desire assistance from an adjacent province, and it was promised on condition of his paying a certain sum of money. All the officers of his army were enraged at the idea of the Romans purchasing assistance from people whom they denominated barbarians. But Cato mildly replied: "It is no such hardship as you imagine: if we conquer, we shall pay them at the expence of the enemy, and if we are conquered, there will be nobody either to pay or to make the demand." He gained the battle, and never afterwards failed of success. During this expedition, Cato is said to have taken more towns than he had resided days in the country; and much plunder was shared among his soldiers: but he took nothing for himself, except what he ate and drank.

When the war was nearly terminated, Scipio, desirous of reaping honour by finishing it, and of thus, as it were, tearing the laurels from Cato's brow, obtained his recal, and the appointment of himself to the chief command in Spain. But the senate was so satisfied with the operations of their former commander, that Scipio was not suffered to alter any thing which Cato had established. The

command, therefore, which Scipio had so anxiously solicited, tended rather to diminish his own glory than that of Cato; and Cato, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a public triumph.

Some time after this, he accompanied the consul Tiberius Sempronius into *Thrace*; and he subsequently went, as a legionary tribune, into *Greece*. The Romans had commenced a war against *Antiochus*, king of Syria, who, next to Annibal, was the most formidable opponent they had ever encountered. Antiochus had advanced, with his troops, and blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylæ, between the mountains of Thessaly and Phocis. As it was considered impossible to force the pass, Cato, with a division of his troops, under the conduct of a guide, attempted, by a circuitous path, to march into the rear of the enemy. When they had advanced to some distance, it was found that the guide had lost his way, and that they were in the midst of almost impassable rocks and precipices. Conducted by a Roman officer, who was dexterous in climbing steep mountains, Cato moved his troops forward, though at the imminent hazard of their lives; for, in the midst of darkness, they were compelled to scramble along, through wild olive-trees, and among steep rocks. After having long wandered about, apparently to little purpose, the day began to dawn; and, the sound of voices being heard, the advanced guard of the Grecian camp was observed at the foot of the rock. Cato immediately ordered his troops to descend, and surprise the guard. This was done, and one of the men was brought to him. From information given by this prisoner, he was enabled to direct an attack in such a manner that, in a short time, the pass was forced, and the enemy was totally defeated. Though Cato was, at this period, only a tribune, acting under Tiberius, the latter attributed all the merit of the victory to him, and sent him with an account of it, to Rome; that he might be the

first to announce the intelligence of his own achievements. So much were the Romans rejoiced at this victory, and so much did it elevate them in their own estimation, that they now believed there could be no bounds to their power.

These were the most remarkable of Cato's military exploits. From this time, his attention seems to have been almost wholly applied to *civil affairs*. As an opponent of Scipio, he supported a charge against that general, but was not successful; and subsequently, a charge against his brother, Lucius Scipio, who was condemned. Cato himself is said to have been impeached no fewer than fifty times; but he was always enabled to establish his integrity.

About ten years after the termination of his consulship, he was a candidate for the office of *censor*, and had six competitors, all principal members of the senate. Each of the candidates, except himself and Valerius Flaccus, imagining that the people were desirous of being governed with lenity, flattered them with hopes of a mild censorship, expecting thereby to attain the popular favour. Cato, on the contrary, professed his resolution to punish every instance of vice; and, loudly declaring that the city required thorough reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose not the mildest but the severest physician. He told them that, if he were elected, he would be to them such a physician: he would endeavour to render important service to the commonwealth, by suppressing the luxury and effeminacy of the times.

Cato and his friend Valerius Flaccus were the successful candidates; and, soon after the election, they began to perform the duties of their office, by expelling from the senate many persons who had been guilty of misconduct. Among his other proceedings, Cato caused an estimate to be made of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture, and utensils; and wherever the property of these, in any

family, exceeded a fixed sum, it was rated at ten times as much, and paid a tax according to that valuation. This procedure occasioned him numerous enemies, not only among such persons, as, rather than part with their luxuries, chose to pay the tax; but even among such as were compelled to lessen their expences in order to avoid it. With the generality of mankind a prohibition to exhibit their wealth has nearly the same effect as the taking of it away; for opulence is invariably seen in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. Hence, the complaints against the conduct of Cato were innumerable. He had to contend with nearly all the greatest and most powerful men in Rome. Their complaints were incessant; but he paid no regard to them.

Many of the most opulent Romans had conducted water from the public reservoirs and fountains, into their houses and gardens. He caused all the pipes by which this was done, to be cut off: he also demolished every building which projected improperly into the streets. He diminished the expence of the public works, and farmed out the revenue, at the highest rent it would bear. These were great public benefits, but they gave excessive offence to many powerful individuals, who endeavoured, by every possible means, to render him odious. The people, however, highly pleased with his conduct, erected to him, in the temple of Health, a statue, on the pedestal of which was the following inscription: "*In honour of Cato the censor, who, when the Roman commonwealth was declining to decay, set it upright by salutary discipline, and wise ordinances and institutions.*"

No man had ridiculed honours of this description more than Cato; and, in the present instance, when his friends expressed surprise that he had not earlier attained so valuable a mark of public esteem, he replied: "I had much rather you should be surprised at the people's having delayed to erect a

“statue to Cato, than hear you ask why they had erected it.”

Towards the *latter part of his life*, the character of Cato seems, in many particulars, to have changed. He now became avaricious; and, as his thirst for wealth increased, he turned his thoughts to various modes of obtaining money. He purchased ponds, hot baths, and property of any kind which would yield him profit. He even practised the most blameable kinds of usury; in lending money at an enormous rate of interest for the use of it. He likewise lent money to his slaves, for the purchase of boys, whom they instructed and fitted for service. These boys were afterwards sold by auction; and Cato deducted, out of the purchase-money, the sums that had been lent, and the interest for the use of them. This was extraordinary conduct for the man who, in Sardinia, had himself been peculiarly severe in checking usury, as a practice extremely injurious to society.

Another circumstance observable respecting the old age of Cato is, that although, in his youth, he had been remarkable for temperance, and had considered this one of the most estimable of virtues, he now became fond of *conviviality*. In the company of his friends, he is said not only to have drunk freely, but sometimes to have sate up all night drinking. Plutarch, however, intimates that the time was passed in rational conversation, and not altogether in drinking. “Cato (he says) always invited some of his acquaintance to sup with him: and, in the company of these, he passed the time in cheerful conversation, making himself agreeable not only to persons of his own age, but to the young; for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had collected a great variety of facts and anecdotes which were highly entertaining. He considered the table as one of the best means of forming friendships; and, at his table, the con-

“versation generally turned upon the praises of
“great and excellent men among the Romans: of
“the profligate and unworthy no mention was made;
“for he would not suffer, in his company, one word,
“either good or bad, to be spoken of them.”

In the day time, Cato chiefly amused himself in writing *books*, and cultivating the ground. He even wrote a book on country affairs. This, which is his only work now extant, treats, among other things, of the modes of fattening geese, poultry, and pigeons; and of making cakes and preserving fruits.

Speaking of himself, when in his seventieth year, he says: “I have neither building, nor plate, nor
“rich clothes of any sort. I have no expensive ser-
“vants, either male or female. If there be any thing
“for which I have occasion, I use it; if not, I go
“without it.” He adds, “people censure me be-
“cause I am without so many things, and I complain
“of them, because they cannot do without them.”

The public services of Cato were not yet at an end. A war having broken out between the Carthaginians and Massinissa, king Numidia, an ancient ally of the Romans, Cato, notwithstanding his great age, was dispatched into Africa, to investigate the cause of it. He arrived at *Carthage*, and, from the extensive preparations which the Carthaginians had made, he imagined that their war with the Numidians was only a prelude to future combats with the Romans. He returned in haste to Rome; and, in a long and emphatic speech, he stated to the senate all the information he had obtained. At the conclusion, he exhibited, in one of the lappets of his gown, some large figs: “The country (said he,) where these grew,
“is but three days’ sail from Rome.” By this action he conveyed to the Romans an idea that the country of Carthage was rich and fertile; and, in his opinion, ought to be conquered and colonized by them. And, afterwards, whatever might be the subject on

which he spoke in the senate, he always concluded his harangue with this expression, "*Delenda est Carthago*;" "Carthage ought to be destroyed." His perseverance was so unremitted, that he, at length, brought about the third and last Carthaginian war, in which, though after his death, his desires were effected.

Cato survived his son by his first wife; but, by his second wife, the daughter of his secretary, and a very young woman, he left a *son*, who from his maternal grand-father was surnamed Salonius. This Cato Salonius was the grand-father of Cato of Utica, one of the most illustrious men of his time. Cato himself *died*, at the age of eighty-five or ninety years; in the year of Rome 605, and 149 years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

He was remarkable for four important virtues: industry, bravery, frugality, and patriotism. By his *industry*, he elevated himself to the highest preferment, nor did he remit it even when he had attained the objects of his pursuit. To the disposal of his time he was always attentive, for he was fully sensible of its value. His *bravery* is indisputable. His *frugality* is proved by his simple and temperate mode of life; and its consequences were strength, health, and long life. Frugal of his own fortune, his *patriotism* led him to be equally so of the public treasure, when committed to his care; and he was, at all times, zealous in reviving and supporting the ancient virtues of his country.

But with these various excellences, Cato had great defects and many unamiable qualities. His ambition, being poisoned by envy, disturbed both his own peace and that of the city. As a master, he became stern and unfeeling. His economy degenerated into avarice; and, though he was uncorrupt in the management of the public money, he descended to very mean and unwarrantable practices to amass a private fortune.

Cato was incessant in censuring the vanity of others, yet he was, himself, excessively *vain*. Among the instances which have been recorded of this, we may mention his speech after the battle of Thermopylæ: "Those (said he) who saw Cato charging the enemy, routing, and pursuing them, declared that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than the people of Rome did to Cato; and, as he came in, panting with exertion, the consul took him in his arms, and embracing him, exclaimed, in a transport of joy, that, neither he, nor the whole Roman people, could sufficiently reward Cato's merit." He used to say, of persons who were guilty of misdemeanors, and were reprov'd for them by him, that they perhaps considered themselves excusable, "as they were not Catos;" and such as imitated his actions, and did it awkwardly, he called "left-handed Catos." He is known to have asserted that "the senate, in dangerous times, were accustomed to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers in a ship, during a storm, do upon the pilot." His vanity, however, may so far be considered excusable, as his assertions, in all these particulars, were founded in truth; for his life, his eloquence, and his strict integrity, gave him great authority in Rome.

In his *private character* he was an affectionate husband and a good father. He was often known to say that "he preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator." When we consider how much he was engaged in the management of public affairs, we shall be surpris'd at the extraordinary attentions which he paid to his son. During the infancy of this son, no private business, however urgent, could prevent him from being at all times present when his wife washed and swaddled him. As soon as the child was capable of receiving knowledge, Cato not only had him instructed by an able grammarian, but also took upon himself much of the

office of instructor. Besides training him to literary pursuits, he taught him to throw the dart, to fight hand to hand, to ride, to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim in the roughest and most rapid parts of the river. This may seem an extraordinary course of instruction; but, as nearly all Roman youths were trained to war, exercises like these, tended, in a peculiar manner, to fit them for a military life. He likewise wrote little histories for his son; by which the boy was enabled to attain a knowledge of the illustrious actions of the ancient Romans, and of the most important customs of his country. He was peculiarly careful that his child should never either witness indecorous actions or hear indecent conversation.

There was great singularity in Cato's management of his family. With regard, for instance, to his slaves; none of them were ever suffered to go into the houses of other persons, unless they were sent thither either by him or by his wife. And, if any person asked them what their master was doing, they had express injunctions to answer that "they did not know." It was also a rule with him always to have his slaves (if possible) either employed in the house, or asleep; because he thought they must then be out of mischief. And he liked those best who slept the most soundly. One of his greatest failings was the unkind treatment of his slaves. When he was young, and had only a slender income, he never found fault with what was served up to his table; but, afterwards, when he had risen to eminence in the state, and made entertainments for his friends, he never failed, as soon as the dinner was over, to correct, with leather thongs, such of his slaves as had been guilty of negligence. He also contrived to excite perpetual quarrels and jealousies among his servants; being fearful that bad consequences might result to him from their unanimity. And, when any of his slaves were accused of

a capital crime, they underwent the form of a trial, in the presence of their fellow-servants; and, if found guilty, were put to death.

That Cato had some singular weaknesses of character, will appear from the facts which have been already stated; and will be rendered still more evident by noticing his quackery in medicine. He wrote a tract on the mode of curing diseases: and he mentions in it the diet which he prescribed to his family when any of them were sick. He allowed them to eat vegetables, duck, pigeon, or hare. Food like this, he says, is light and suitable for sick persons; and has no other inconvenience than that of producing dreams. He has even mentioned a kind of charm to be used in the cure of dislocations. But, by his perseverance in his own modes of curing diseases, he is stated to have lost both his wife and his son. That he lasted so long himself was, no doubt, owing, not to his medical knowledge, but to his temperate habits, and his naturally good constitution.

Remarkable sayings of Cato.

The manner in which Cato spoke, was often very remarkable. Plutarch describes it to have been elegant, facetious, and familiar; and, at the same time, grave, sententious, and vehement. Many of his sayings have been recorded.

Complaining of the luxurious mode of living among the Romans, he said: "It is indeed a hard matter to save, from ruin, that city, where a fish is sold for more than an ox." To so unwarrantable an excess was luxury of the table carried, that salt-fish, from the Black Sea, are said to have been sold for as much as twelve guineas each; and instances of greater extravagance than this occurred during the times of the Roman emperors.

On the subject of extravagance, particularly in the table, Cato, pointing to a young man, who had

sold a paternal estate by the sea-side, said: "What the sea could not have swallowed without difficulty, that man has swallowed with all imaginable ease."

Cato once observed, of the Roman people, that they were like sheep. "Singly, (he said,) these animals can scarcely be induced to move, but they all in a body follow their leaders. Just such, (he continued) are you Romans. The very men whose counsel, as individuals, you would despise, lead you with ease in a crowd."

Exhorting the people to virtue, he observed: "If it be by virtue and temperance, that you are become great, change not for the worse; but if by vice and intemperance, change for the better; for you are already great enough by such means as these."

He used to say that his "enemies hated him, because he neglected his own concerns, and rose before break of day to watch over those of the public: but he would rather have his good actions go unrewarded than his bad ones unpunished; and he pardoned every one's faults with greater ease than his own."

He reproved the people for often choosing the same consuls: "Ye either (said he) think the consulship of little value, or have but a small number of men worthy of the office."

The Romans, on a particular occasion, having sent three ambassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another had his skull trepanned, and the third was nearly an idiot; Cato smiled, and observed that "they had sent an embassy, which had neither feet, head, nor heart."

When he was employed in Greece, he thus joked with his wife respecting the influence which her son had over her: "The Athenians govern the Greeks: I govern the Athenians: you, wife, govern me; and your son governs you. Let him, then, use

“with moderation that power which, child as he is,
“sets him above the Greeks.”

“Wise men (said Cato) learn more from fools
“than fools do from wise men: for the wise avoid
“the errors of fools, but fools do not profit from the
“example of the wise.”

Being once rudely treated by a man who had led
a dissolute and infamous life, he said, “It is upon
“very unequal terms that I contend with you: you are
“accustomed to hear reproach, and can utter it with
“pleasure, but with me it is both unusual to hear,
“and disagreeable to utter reproach.”

It was a saying of Cato, that, “he liked a young
“man who blushed better than one who turned pale;
“and that he did not approve of a soldier who
“moved his hands in marching and his feet in fight-
“ing, and who snored louder in bed than he shouted
“in battle.”

Cato was known to assert that, “during his whole
“life, he had never repented but of three things:
“the first, that he had trusted a woman with a se-
“cret; the second, that he had gone by sea, when
“he might have gone by land; and the third, that
“he had passed one day without having a will
“by him.”

When drawing near the close of life he declared,
to his friends, that “the greatest comfort he pos-
“sessed in his old age, was the recollection of the
“many benefits and friendly offices he had done to
“other persons.”

Authorities.—*Plutarch and Livy.*

LUCIUS PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

A Roman consul and general, who is chiefly celebrated for having successfully conducted a war against Perseus, king of Macedon. He died about the year 647 of Rome, and 107 years before the birth of Christ.

WE are now arrived at a period when the manners of the Romans had become greatly corrupted by prosperity. Many of the noble families were disgraced by luxury, pride, cruelty, and perfidy: some, it is true, were eminent for virtue; and, as these happened to prevail in the senate and in the army, the Roman history is marked by records of dishonourable or glorious actions. The Roman youth, however, are said to have, in general, been educated in great modesty and temperance; and to have been taught to venerate the ancient laws of their country.

The *Æmilian family* was one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility; and the person, a narrative of whose actions I am about to relate, was the son of that Paulus Æmilius, whose unhappy death, in the battle of Cannæ, has already been mentioned in the memoir of Fabius Maximus.

On beginning the world, he did not endeavour to attain public honours by any of the usual arts of popularity. His free and independent spirit would not permit him to flatter, caress, and solicit the people, the mode that most of his contemporaries and associates adopted. He was diligent in laying the basis of a far more noble and more lasting reputation; founded in virtue, and in incorruptible integrity.

The first office which he obtained in the state, was that of *Ædile*; and he succeeded against twelve powerful competitors. He and his colleague Æmi-

lius Lepidus obtained great applause from the people, by prosecuting, to conviction, some of the farmers of the public lands, who had defrauded the state; and, with the money received for the fines, they placed gilded shields in the upper part of the temple of Jupiter.

Paulus Æmilius appears next to have been appointed one of the priests called *Augurs*, whom the Romans employed in the inspection and care of divination, by the flight of birds, and by prodigies in the air. He is said to have studied, and to have perfected himself in all the ancient ceremonies of the augurs, and to have performed these with great skill. Indeed it appears, that he really placed much confidence in augury; and, unenlightened by revelation, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised at mankind, (anxious to ascertain the views of divine providence,) deceiving themselves even by the grossest superstition.

It was the character of Æmilius, to perform, with ardour, the duty of every office which he undertook. When he served in the Roman army, he was exact, in the observance of military conduct and discipline. He did not, like many others, study to render himself popular, by humouring and indulging the soldiers, all of whom, as Roman citizens, had votes, for great civil and military employments: but he impartially performed his duty, and thus brought the army into a high state of perfection. He was accustomed to assert that the overcoming of an enemy was to him an object of much less importance, than bringing his countrymen to a state of strict discipline; for the former, he said, was a necessary consequence of the latter.

About the year of Rome 563, there was a general revolt against the Roman authorities in *Spain*; and Æmilius, with about eighty thousand men, was directed to proceed thither. He fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians, and totally routed them;

with a loss greater than the amount of his whole army. After this, we are told that two hundred and fifty towns opened their gates, and were voluntarily surrendered to him. He established peace throughout the province; and, as soon as he had secured its allegiance, he returned to Rome;—but not one drachma richer than when he went out, for Paulus Æmilius never exhibited much eagerness to obtain wealth.

In the year 570, he was elected *consul*; and, in the ensuing year, he headed an expedition against the *Ligurians*, a warlike and maritime people, who inhabited the north-western parts of Italy. They had an army of forty thousand men, whilst that of Æmilius consisted only of about eight thousand; and, although they were thus five times his number, he entirely routed them. The Ligurians afterwards made peace with the Romans, and surrendered to them all their large ships, with which they had previously committed great devastation in almost every part of the Mediterranean.

Notwithstanding these memorable services, when Æmilius again offered himself a candidate for the office of consul, he was rejected; and, being a man of independent spirit, he determined never afterwards to solicit it.

For nearly fifteen years after this period, he lived in *retirement*, being chiefly occupied in his office of augur, and in the education of his children. He caused his two sons to be instructed in such sciences as were usually taught in Rome, and also in the politer arts of Greece. For this purpose, he not only kept masters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but also sculpture and painting. He likewise caused them to be instructed in almost every kind of martial exercise. He had two daughters, one of whom he rendered worthy to be married into the Ælian family, and the other into the family of Cato.

The Romans became involved in a *war with Perseus*, king of Macedon: and, for some time, the advantage appeared to be on the side of the enemy. Their want of success was imputed to the incapacity and cowardice of their generals. They were consequently resolved to elect, as consul, some man capable of conducting the army more to their satisfaction, than those persons to whom the command had recently been given. At this time, Æmilius was near sixty years of age; but, being still in the vigour of health, and all his faculties being still unimpaired, he was considered the only man, capable of retrieving the character of his country; and was, consequently solicited, by the citizens, to accept the consulship. Having been rejected by them before, he now received the offer with great indifference. For many successive days they entreated of him to accept it. At last he was prevailed with to do so; and, immediately after his election, he assumed the command of the army, which was appointed to act against Perseus.

It had been customary with those who were appointed to the consulship, to make their acknowledgments in a speech to the people. Æmilius said to them, that “he had formerly applied for the office of consul, because he wanted a command; but that the people now entreated him to accept it, because they wanted a commander. He could not, therefore, consider himself under the slightest obligation to them. If they knew any one who could manage the war better than himself, he would readily resign the command; but, if they placed any confidence in him, he expected that they would not interfere with his orders, nor propagate any idle reports concerning him; but that they would quietly furnish whatever was requisite for the war.”—“Let such (he continued) as think themselves qualified to advise their general, now accompany me into Macedonia. They shall have a

“ passage on board my ship; and, in the field, they shall be welcome to a place in my tent, and at my table; but, if they now decline this offer, let them not, afterwards, pretend to judge of what they neither see nor understand.” This independent speech was received with great applause, and impressed even the populace with a just sense of respect for their consul.

Æmilius set out on his expedition; and arrived, in safety, at the Roman camp in *Macedonia*; and perhaps no man was better qualified than he, for a service like this. In intrepidity, judgment, presence of mind, and dexterity of expedients, few were equal, and none superior to him.

Perseus, the Macedonian commander, is described to have been a man of inferior capacity, and of mean and avaricious disposition. His army, however, consisted of about fifty thousand well-disciplined soldiers. When Æmilius advanced against them, they were encamped near the sea-coast, at the foot of *Mount Olympus*, and in an inaccessible place, strengthened on every side by fortifications of wood. Here Perseus lay, free from all apprehension of danger; believing that he should be able to destroy the power of the consul, by protracting the time, and exhausting his means of subsistence. Æmilius studied every possible method of attack. His greatest difficulty consisted in restraining the impetuosity of his soldiers; but, whenever they ventured to express impatience at his delay, he reproved them with the utmost severity; ordering them not to interfere with, nor attend to, any thing but their own persons and weapons.

They suffered much from want of water; for they soon exhausted all the springs: and would have been compelled to quit their station, had it not occurred to Æmilius that, as the upper part of the mountains, near which they were encamped, was covered with trees, there must be springs beneath

the soil, which would discharge themselves at the bottom. He, therefore, caused several wells to be dug. These were soon filled, and his troops were abundantly supplied with water.

As Perseus would not risk a battle, it was requisite that Æmilius should explore the various passes of the mountains, and obtain every possible intelligence concerning the neighbourhood. At length he ascertained that there was a path, though a rugged and almost impracticable one, which the enemy had left unguarded. An officer whose name was Scipio Nasica, (and who was subsequently a leading man in the Roman senate,) volunteered his services, to head the troops in penetrating this pass, for the purpose of reaching the enemy; and Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Æmilius, though only a youth, eagerly joined in the enterprise. That the enemy might not suspect their intentions, they commenced their march, by proceeding in a direction towards the sea. But, when night came on, Nasica explained to the soldiers his real design, and directed them to follow a different route. They passed the night among the mountains; and, in the morning, Perseus, seeing that the camp of Æmilius was still in its place, little suspected the danger to which he was exposed. On being, soon afterwards, informed of it, by a Roman deserter, he detached twelve thousand men, to seize the heights above the Romans. A sharp and dangerous conflict ensued, in which the Macedonians were defeated. Perseus, terrified at this disaster, retired from his strong position, to a plain near Pydna; and Æmilius, having been joined by Nasica, marched against him. When, however, he saw the number and excellent arrangement of the Macedonian force, he halted, for a while, to consider what was proper to be done.

All the young officers were eager for engagement; and particularly Nasica: he entreated of his commander to lead them on without delay. Æmilius

smiled at him, and answered, “Nasica, I once
“thought as you do now. Hereafter you will think
“with me. By long experience in war, I have
“learned when it is best to fight, and when to ab-
“stain from fighting. It would be improper for me now
“to explain to you the reasons which induce me to
“rest to-day. Ask these some other time; and, at
“present, acquiesce in the judgment of an old com-
“mander.”

Nasica was silenced; for he had the utmost confidence in Æmilius. In fact, the Macedonians were, at this time, much more numerous than the Romans. Of the latter, nearly one fourth were at a distance in the rear, and even those who were present were too much fatigued with their march, to be able, successfully, to oppose so powerful a foe, as was now encamped before them.

On the ensuing day, when Æmilius saw the tremendous line of Macedonians, and their allies, the Thracians, marching against him, he was astonished; but he was not intimidated. He exhibited to his troops a cheerful countenance, and rode, along his lines, without either helmet or breast-plate. On the contrary, the king of Macedon, notwithstanding his advantage in numbers, was no sooner engaged in the fight, than he gave way to his fears, and fled; under pretence, as some assert, of sacrificing to Hercules; but, according to others, in consequence of a wound which he received from a javelin. Notwithstanding the defection of their monarch, the troops made so powerful an opposition, that it was not without great difficulty and tremendous slaughter, on both sides, they were subdued. It was solely by the skilful management of his troops, that Æmilius, at last, obtained a decisive and most important victory.

But, rejoiced as he was, at his success as a commander, he was overwhelmed with grief, when, of his two sons, the youngest, whose name was Scipio, and whom he chiefly loved, was not to be found.

As this youth, then only in his seventeenth year, had been naturally brave and ambitious of honour, it was concluded that his inexperience had engaged him too far in the hottest of the battle, and that he had been killed. The whole army sympathized in the distress of their general. Many, both of the soldiers and officers, ran out with torches, some to the general's tent, and some to the trenches, to seek him among the slain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field resounded with the cries of persons calling aloud his name; for he was a youth beloved by all. A considerable part of the night was passed in the search; and he was almost given up for lost, when he returned, accompanied by two or three of his friends, and covered with blood. Eager to perform his duty to the utmost, he had continued the pursuit too far; and, by so doing, might have fallen a sacrifice to his temerity.

Within two days after this battle, Æmilius was master of the whole of Macedon. Perseus exhibited the most disgraceful traits, both of cruelty and cowardice. He stabbed two of his treasurers with a poniard, for having found some fault with his proceedings; and, when he was at Amphipolis, fearful lest the inhabitants should deliver him to the Romans, he came out with his only child, to entreat their favour; but his tears flowed so fast, that he found it impracticable to proceed. After this he fled to the island of Samothrace, in the Ægean Sea; and at last surrendered himself to Æmilius. This general, when informed of his approach, rose from his seat, and, accompanied by his friends, went to receive the king, as a great man reduced from splendour to captivity. But Perseus exhibited the most abject humility. He bowed down with his face to the earth, and embraced the knees of his conqueror in so humiliating a manner, that Æmilius exclaimed: "Wretched man! you do but tarnish my laurels, and detract from my achievements, by showing

“yourself a contemptible adversary, unfit to cope
 “with a Roman. Courage in the unfortunate is re-
 “vered, even by an enemy; but cowardice, though
 “it meet with success, is ever held by the Romans
 “in contempt.” He raised the degraded monarch
 with his hand, led him into his tent, and afterwards
 gave him in charge to one of the Roman officers.

This reproof was spoken to Perseus in the Greek
 language. Æmilius, afterwards turning to those
 around him, addressed to them, in Latin, some in-
 structive remarks, on what had taken place. Igno-
 rant of any better principle, and believing that all
 human affairs were subject to what he termed the
 vicissitudes of fortune, he said: “Is it fit that a mor-
 “tal should be elated by prosperity, and plume him-
 “self upon the overturning of a city or a king-
 “dom? Observe this instance of the instability of
 “human affairs. To you, young men, I principally
 “address the observation. The very joy of success
 “must ever be mingled with anxiety, in him who re-
 “flects upon the course of fate, which spares none,
 “but humbles to-day one man, and to-morrow ano-
 “ther. After a battle of one hour’s continuance, we
 “have seen, in Perseus, the overthrow of the house
 “of Alexander; that monarch, who once extended
 “his empire over the greatest part of the world.
 “When you contemplate this, and when you see
 “princes, that were lately at the head of immense
 “armies, receive their provisions, for the day,
 “from the hands of their enemies; can you so far
 “flatter yourselves, as to believe that fortune has
 “firmly settled your prosperity? Rather, my young
 “friends, quit this elation of heart, and the vain rap-
 “tures of victory, and humble yourselves, in the
 “thought of what may happen hereafter: even let
 “us suppose, that the gods may send some misfor-
 “tune to counterbalance our present success.” This
 was an instructive lesson; and, if we substitute

Providence for fortune and for fate; it would have been worthy of a Christian hero.

On a subsequent occasion we shall, still more strongly, see the application of these principles to himself; and the mode in which he did apply them, even when his own conduct towards the enemy was extremely reprehensible.

After this victory, Æmilius distributed his army into quarters, and made arrangements for redressing the grievances of the people, and reforming the government of Greece. The Roman power was now extended over Macedon. Æmilius declared the lands and the cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that the people should be governed by their own laws, but that they should be tributary to Rome. He then exhibited various games and spectacles, offered sacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments; the expence of which he defrayed out of the Macedonian treasures. He was not, however, lavish of these treasures: he appropriated no part of them to his own use; and he delivered, all that remained, into the hands of the quæstors, to be conveyed to Rome. All the booty which Æmilius reserved to himself, consisted of the books in the king's library; and these he presented to his sons.

The subsequent order of the Roman senate respecting this unfortunate country, and even the conduct of Æmilius, in compliance with that order, would have been disgraceful even to a country of barbarians. It was decreed, that the soldiers who had fought against Perseus, should be rewarded, by having permission to plunder the cities of Epirus; and, that they might be enabled to take the inhabitants by surprise, and thereby be the more successful, Æmilius sent for ten of the principal persons of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever silver and gold could be found in their houses and temples. He directed that each of these persons should be accompanied by a centurion and a

guard of soldiers; pretending that their presence would be necessary to protect the treasure. On the day that he had named, the soldiers rushed upon the inhabitants; and, in one hour, a hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities were sacked. Yet, from this horrible devastation, each soldier received no more than eleven drachmas, about seven shillings of English money. Plutarch remarks, that all men shuddered at the termination of this war; when they reflected upon the horror of such a complete destruction, and that for so paltry an advantage. After this Æmilius went to Oricum, whence he embarked, with his forces, for Italy.

In proceeding up the river Tiber, to *Rome*, he sailed in a magnificent galley which had belonged to the king of Macedon; and which was richly adorned with weapons taken from the enemy, and with scarlet and purple cloth. The banks of the river were covered with multitudes of people, who came to witness the arrival of the victorious general and his army.

The Roman soldiers had been excessively disappointed in their hopes of plunder; and on their return to Rome, they murmured loudly against the conduct of Æmilius. They alleged that he had been severe and imperious in the command; and Servius Galba, who had served under him as a tribune, circulated numerous calumnies, injurious to his character.

It was proposed to honour him with a public *triumph*, in recompence for his services; but this was strongly opposed by the soldiers. The principal senators, however, headed by Marcus Servilius, and a great number of Roman citizens, were favourable to Æmilius; and, determining, if possible, to repress the bold and licentious spirit, which they observed to be rising in the army, they succeeded in obtaining a majority of votes, and the triumph was decreed.

In every theatre or circus, where equestrian games were accustomed to be held; and, in all other parts of Rome, from which it was possible to see the procession, scaffolds were erected. On the day of the triumph, the spectators were clad in white garments. All the temples were opened, adorned with garlands, and perfumed with incense. The triumph occupied three days. On the first, were exhibited the images, paintings, and colossal statues taken from the enemy, and carried in two hundred and fifty chariots. On the second day, the richest and most beautiful of the Macedonian weapons and armour, were drawn through the city in an immense number of waggons. These were both of brass and steel, and consisted of helmets, shields, breast-plates, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, swords, spears, and quivers filled with arrows; and they were so loosely tied together, that they clattered as they were drawn along, with a noise so harsh and terrible, that they could scarcely be looked upon without dread. After the weapons and armour, walked three thousand men, who carried, in seven hundred and fifty vessels, the silver money which had been taken from the enemy. Each vessel was borne by four men. Next to these followed men bearing bowls, goblets, and cups, all of silver, and valuable not only for their size, but for the richness of the ornaments engraven upon them. On the third day, early in the morning, the trumpeters first advanced, sounding martial airs. These were followed by one hundred and twenty fat oxen, led to the sacrifice, having their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribbons and garlands: the youths who led them were girded with belts of curious workmanship. Next came a number of boys, who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifice. They were followed by persons bearing the gold coin which had been taken. This was carried in seventy-seven vessels, each held by four persons. Then marched the bearers of the golden bowl, set

with precious stones, which Æmilius had caused to be made and consecrated to Jupiter, and which weighed six hundred pounds. After them advanced the men who carried the cups of Antigonus, Seleucus, and Thericles, and the gold plate which had been used at the table of Perseus. Immediately behind these was the chariot of Perseus, with his armour upon it, and upon that his diadem. At a little distance behind it were led, captive, his children, attended by their nurses, preceptors, and governors: then came Perseus himself, clad in black, and wearing sandals after the fashion of his country. He seemed overwhelmed with wretchedness, and appeared almost like a man deprived of reason. A great number of his friends and favourites followed him, their countenances oppressed with sorrow. After these were carried four hundred coronets of gold, which had been sent to Æmilius, from different cities, as compliments upon his victory. The next in the procession was Æmilius himself, seated in a chariot magnificently adorned. He was clad in a robe of purple interwoven with gold; and held, in his right hand, a branch of laurel. The whole army, bearing boughs of laurel, and divided into bands and companies, followed the chariot of their general, some singing satyrical odes, and others songs of triumph, and songs in praise of their commander.

A most instructive lesson is taught by this part of the history of Æmilius. Plutarch, though a heathen writer, thus moralizes upon it. "There perhaps exists (says he) some Superior Being, whose office it is to cast a shade upon great and eminent prosperity, so as to mingle the lot of human life, that it may never be free from calamity; but, that those may think themselves the most happy, to whom are distributed an equal share of good and evil." Of the four sons of Æmilius, one of them, fourteen years of age, suddenly died, five days before his

father's triumph; and another, twelve years old, died three days after it.

Æmilius himself states that he had expected some severe private misfortune to follow from his late uninterrupted flow of success. After the death of his second son, he assembled the people of Rome, and addressed them nearly in these terms. "Though I
" have never feared any thing human, yet, among
" things divine, I have always had a dread of For-
" tune; and, because, in the course of this war she
" had prospered all my undertakings, I did expect
" that some tempest would follow so favourable a
" gale. In one day I passed the Ionian Sea: thence,
" in five days, I reached Delphi, and sacrificed to
" Apollo. Within five days more, I assumed the
" command of the army in Macedon: I proceeded
" to action, and, in the space of fifteen days, I glo-
" riously terminated the war. Fearful that Fortune,
" after such success, would visit me with some re-
" verse, and, being free from all danger with respect
" to the enemy, I began to be apprehensive of dan-
" ger on my passage home. But, I arrived safe
" among my countrymen, and beheld the city full of
" of joy, festivity, and gratitude. Still I suspected
" that some misery hung over me, knowing that
" Fortune grants us no considerable favour without
" some mixture of uneasiness or infliction of pain.
" Full of anxious thoughts lest some evil might befall
" the commonwealth, my fears did not quit me till
" this calamity visited my house: till I had to bury
" my two sons, on the very days sacred to triumph.
" Thus has the man who led the triumph, exhibited
" as impressive an instance of the weakness of hu-
" man power, as he who was led captive: with this
" difference only, that the sons of the vanquished are
" alive, and those of the conqueror are no more."

Plutarch states that there was not a man in Rome who did not sympathize with Æmilius in his affliction. And yet these Romans, who were thus dis-

tressed by the affliction of their general, had little sympathy for the sufferings of their conquered foes ; for the families of those who had been slain in their battles ; for the hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants of Epirus, who had been dragged from their homes, and sold as slaves by this same Æmilius. Can we, as Christians, imagine his misfortune to have been as he states, a consequent merely upon his success? May we not rather, and without any unchristian spirit in judging, suppose it possible to have been a visible and just interposition of Providence, to punish that havoc of the human species, of which he had so wantonly been guilty*.

After this, Æmilius, though he attached himself to the nobility, contrived to retain also the esteem of the populace. Among other honours, the Romans conferred upon him the *ensorship*, which he held till his *death*. This took place suddenly, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and about one hundred and seven years before the Christian era.

Notwithstanding the immense sums which this illustrious Roman brought into the treasury, he accumulated no wealth for himself, but died so poor, that a considerable part of his effects were sold, for the purpose of paying the jointure of his widow ; and the expenses of his funeral were defrayed out of the public treasury.

Had Æmilius either been born in a more virtuous age, or been possessed of sufficient strength of mind to have resisted the wickedness of his countrymen, his character might have been truly glorious. But, though himself benevolent, he had the weakness to be overruled, in his conduct, by men of merciless character ; and, in some instances, as we have seen, to become even the instrument of their cruelty.

Connected with the history of Æmilius, we have

* See the note of Mr. Wrangham, in his edition of Langhorne's Plutarch.

had to contemplate one of those reverses of fortune, to which, more particularly, in the unsettled state of governments at this period, the great were subject. Perseus, the king of Macedon, died in captivity: one of his sons earned his living by following the trade of a working toyman, and another was clerk in one of the public offices at Rome. Thus terminated the royal house of Macedon, only one hundred and sixty years after the death of Alexander the Great; the man, for whose ambition the whole earth seemed not to afford a space sufficiently ample. Let us not, however, forget that, even in the severity of punishment, inflicted upon Perseus, the dispensations of Providence were strongly manifested. His dreadful crimes, particularly his numerous murders, were now visited upon himself; and whatever he may have suffered, in the deprivation of his kingdom, or even in the miseries of his dungeon, his conscience must have convinced him that his punishment, at least, was equitable.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Livy, and Diodorus Siculus.*



TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

A Roman tribune, who was slain in a popular commotion, the consequence of his having attempted to effect an equalization of property, throughout the republic.

He died in the year 621 of Rome, and 133 years before the birth of Christ.



THE *Gracchi*, as they are usually styled, were brothers, sons of Sempronius Gracchus, who was honoured with the censorship, and twice with the consulate. Their *mother* was Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, a woman of powerful mind and

extraordinary accomplishments. At the death of her husband, she was left with twelve children, towards whom, according to Roman sentiments, she performed her duty in the most exemplary manner. On their education she bestowed every possible care; and so anxiously desirous was she to give them her undivided attention, that, when Ptolemy, king of Egypt, offered to her his hand in marriage, and thus proposed to make her the partner in his throne, she unhesitatingly refused him.

Her affection, however, experienced many severe trials. Nine of her children died in their childhood or youth. She survived even her two remaining sons, Tiberius and Caius; and had to witness, in the affliction which they brought upon themselves, upon their family, and upon the Roman republic, a series of the most dreadful calamities.

During their early years, these sons were justly esteemed for their accomplishments and exemplary conduct. They were alike brave, temperate, liberal, and eloquent; but, in other respects, they exhibited considerable dissimilarity of character. Tiberius was diffident, mild, and deliberate. Caius was animated, vehement, and difficult of control. Each was distinguished for eloquence; but, in this respect also, they differed much from each other. Tiberius, in his public harangues, exhibited great modesty of action; but Caius moved vehemently from one side of the rostrum to the other, threw his gown over his shoulder, and spoke in the most impassioned manner. The eloquence of Tiberius was chiefly calculated to excite pity, and that of Caius to inspire terror. They likewise differed much in their habits and manner of living. Tiberius was plain and frugal; and Caius, though temperate, in comparison with other Romans, was a prodigal and an epicure when compared with his brother.

It was remarkable of Caius, in his public speaking, that, when he was borne away by the vehemence of

his passion, he would strain his voice beyond its natural pitch, utter abusive expressions, and disorder his whole frame. Conscious of this, he adopted an extraordinary mode of guarding against it. He stationed, among the auditors, one of his servants, who blew softly a small ivory flute, whenever he heard his master elevating his voice, and becoming too much animated in the debate. The sound of this instrument served as an indication for the orator to moderate both his tone and his gestures. Some writers have absurdly stated that a flute-player stood behind him, for the purpose of animating his eloquence, by playing quick and lively tunes, and of repressing it by soft and plaintive airs. Cicero asserts that the man, as occasion required, breathed a note to rouse him if languid, or to moderate him if he was speaking too harshly.

Tiberius Gracchus was nearly nine years older than Caius, and consequently became much earlier immersed in politics and public business. He had acquired an extraordinary degree of reputation, even before he had attained the age of manhood; and he was very early admitted into the college of *Augurs*. Whilst he was in this situation, Appius Claudius, the president of the senate, gave to him his daughter in marriage.

In conformity to the Roman custom, he passed his youth in the military service. He had a command in Africa, under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister; and, at the siege of Carthage, he is stated to have been the first who scaled the walls of that city. Few men were more esteemed for correctness of conduct, and few were more beloved than he.

In the year of the city 615, he was appointed to the office of *quæstor*; and he served under the consul Caius Hostilius Mancinus, in the *Numantian war*. Mancinus, though not devoid of courage, was an unsuccessful general; and, in this war, he expe-

rienced some severe reverses. But Tiberius obtained distinction by his conduct, his bravery, and his talents. The Numantians compelled the Roman army to retreat, cut off great numbers of the troops, and surrounded the remainder of them among rocks and impenetrable valleys. Mancinus sent an herald to sue for peace; but the Numantians would treat with no one except Tiberius. They were well acquainted with his character; and they entertained a high respect for the memory of his father, who, in a former instance, after having defeated them, had granted to them favourable terms of peace.

The good faith which Tiberius exhibited in this treaty, subsequently proved of great personal importance to him. The Romans, having hastily retired from their camp, the Numantians entered and pillaged it; and, among other articles, they carried off the books and papers relative to his quæstorship. As the loss of these would have proved of irreparable injury to him, he determined to return to Numantia, and attempt the recovery of them. On his arrival there, the Numantian magistrates declared themselves highly gratified in having an opportunity to oblige him. They treated him with the utmost kindness, restored to him his books, and offered to him the choice of whatever he would accept from the spoils they had taken. He, however, would receive nothing except a small quantity of frankincense, to be used in the public sacrifices.

On his return to *Rome*, the conduct of Tiberius was highly applauded by the populace; but the senators refused to ratify the terms of the negotiation, which they considered disgraceful to the Roman character.

Incensed against the senate, and flattered by the favourable opinion of the people, Tiberius, from this time, appears to have invariably opposed the one, and sought to gratify the wishes of the other. In passing through Etruria, on his way to Spain, hav-

ing observed many parts of the country to be, as Plutarch states, destitute of population, except a few husbandmen or shepherds, the slaves of great landholders, he resolved to turn this circumstance to advantage, in endeavouring to effect an equalization of property; and he could not possibly have adopted any plan which was more effectually calculated to elevate him in the estimation of the poor, than that of procuring a distribution among them of the property of the rich.

Being appointed one of the *tribunes of the people*, he communicated his project to Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scævola the lawyer, at that time also consul, and Appius Claudius the father-in-law of Tiberius; and obtained their approbation of it. A complete equalization of property, he was aware, would be altogether impracticable. He consequently began by proposing only to limit the estates of the great, and not altogether to divide them. He undertook to revive what was called the *Agrarian law*; a law which had been enacted about two hundred and forty years before, but which had fallen into the disuse which its absurdity and injustice deserved. By this law, no Roman was to possess more than a limited portion of land, which, reduced to English measure, would be about three hundred acres; a hundred head of the larger cattle, and five hundred head of lesser cattle. Tiberius proposed, in a general assembly, the renewal of this law; and proposed to divide the surplus of the great estates among the people.

His scheme was, of course, received by the populace with great applause; and the speech by which he supported it is well deserving of attention: “The
“savage beasts (he said) have their dens, their
“places of repose and refuge; but the men who
“have borne arms, and who have exposed their lives
“for the safety of their country, enjoy nothing in it,
“but the air and the light. They have no houses

“nor settlements; they are constrained to wander
“from place to place, with their wives and children;
“and the generals do but mock them, when, at the
“head of their armies, they exhort the men to fight
“for their temples and their altars. For, among so
“many Romans, none is possessed of either altar or
“monument; none has a house of his own, nor seat
“of his ancestors to defend. The private soldiers
“fight and die, to increase the wealth and the luxury
“of the great; and those are, insultingly, called
“masters of the world, who have not a foot of
“ground for their possession.” An harangue, like
this, spoken to a tumultuous populace, (and it must
be recollected that the multitude which he addressed
were all obliged to be soldiers if their country re-
quired their service,) naturally inflamed their minds.
They were eagerly desirous of having the bill passed
into a law. So daring an attack upon property, not
the senate only, but even Marcus Octavius, one of
the tribunes, strenuously opposed. To the latter,
Tiberius offered a full indemnity, for any loss he
might personally sustain, if he would desist from
opposition, but to no purpose; and, enraged at the
conduct of his colleague, he became more obstinate
in his resolutions, and more violent in his proceed-
ings than before. He proposed that the landholders
should absolutely cede the excess of their posses-
sions, beyond the number of acres already mentioned.
The populace assembled, from all quarters, to vote
for the passing of so agreeable a law; and, to
remove the opposition of his colleague, Tiberius
found means to have him deprived of his office.
The law was passed; for the chief power was vested
in the people, and the senate could not prevent them
from sanctioning any favourite measure, how injuri-
ous soever it might prove to the state. Tiberius,
his brother Caius, and Appius Claudius, were ap-
pointed commissioners for carrying it into effect.

Some writers assert that Tiberius was roused

into his proceedings respecting the Agrarian law, by placards and writings upon the walls of the city, calling upon him to restore, to the plebeians, their share of the public lands: others, that he was instigated to them by the ambition of his mother, who frequently declared to her sons that she was called "the mother-in-law of Scipio, and not the mother of the Gracchi;" but, when all the circumstances of his history are duly considered, it will appear that he adopted them chiefly through a desire of attaining eminence in the state.

Tiberius was now at the height of his power. For a few months he enjoyed almost sovereign authority; but so much alarm was excited among the possessors of property, that confusion reigned through every department of the state, and in every province of the country. In vain did he assert that he had demanded of them nothing inequitable. It was not easy to convince the rich that any proceedings could be equitable, which should forcibly take from them their possessions; which should strip them of their houses, their lands, their inheritances, and the burial-places of their ancestors; which should deprive their wives and their children of the estates which the law, as it had previously stood, had allowed to be settled upon them. In every possible way they opposed the proceedings of the commissioners, and, at length, they excited so much clamour, that Tiberius either was, or affected to be, in danger of losing his life. He put on mourning, and, leading his wife and children into the forum, he recommended them to the protection of the people, while he declared himself ready to give up his own life to the service of the public.

About this time, Attalus, king of Pergamus, dying without children, bequeathed his whole property to the Roman people: this Tiberius immediately ordered to be seized and divided among the poor, for the purchase of agricultural and other implements.

The majority of the senators alleged that, by all these proceedings, he was merely seeking to obtain popularity, for the purpose of elevating his family to the highest dignities of the state: that he was desirous of raising his father-in-law to the consulate, his brother to the tribuneship, and of himself continuing in his office beyond the legal time. Some of them asserted that he countenanced, and associated with, even the meanest of the people, for the purpose of obtaining aid in elevating himself to the regal dignity. But what first tended to turn the scale of popular favour against him, was an accusation that, by the unjustifiable mode in which he had caused Octavius to be deprived of the tribuneship, he had robbed that important office both of its security and its dignity.

The friends of the nobility exerted all their efforts to counteract, in the minds of the people, the influence which Tiberius had obtained; and, on the other hand, Tiberius, as the only means of securing himself in power, proposed several additional laws in favour of the people.

He now either was, or pretended to be, fearful lest his enemies should attack his house. With tears in his eyes, and with every indication of deep distress, he stated his alarm to the populace; and a great number of them erected tents before it, and guarded him through the night. On the ensuing morning, several circumstances occurred which the Roman historians say foreboded that some evil would befall him. On going to the capitol, he stumbled at the threshold of his house, and struck his foot with so much violence, that blood gushed from the wound: as he was proceeding, he observed, towards his left, two ravens fighting on the top of a house, one of which threw down a stone, that fell close to his foot. Although these omens are believed to have operated strongly on his mind, he proceeded to the capitol, where he was received, by his friends, with loud and

continued acclamations; and, by his enemies, with tremendous shouts and hootings of disapprobation.

One of the senators, whose name was Flaccus, knowing that, amidst the uproar, it was impossible he could be heard, ascended an eminence, and made a signal to Tiberius that he had something of importance to communicate to him. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus approached him, and stated that several wealthy Romans had armed their adherents, with the intention of assassinating him. No sooner was this intelligence communicated to the persons immediately around, than they seized the halberts of the men who were stationed to keep off the crowd. These they broke, and distributed among the friends of Tiberius, for the purpose of defending him against any assault that might be made. The distant persons of the crowd, surprised at so extraordinary an occurrence, called aloud to know what was the reason of it; and Tiberius having, in vain, endeavoured to make himself heard, put his hand to his head, to indicate the danger with which he was threatened. His enemies, on seeing this, ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius had demanded a crown; and alleged his gesture in proof of the fact. A dreadful commotion ensued, in which many persons were killed. Tiberius endeavoured to escape; but, in his flight, he stumbled over the bodies of the slain. As he was recovering himself, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, struck him on the head, with the leg of a stool; a second and fatal blow was given to him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards prided himself upon it, as one of the most glorious exploits of his life.

Such is the account of his death, that has been given by Plutarch. Other writers assert that he was slain on the spot where he had been standing; and others that the massacre began in the forum, and that Tiberius fled thence to the capitol.

Paterculus says that Scipio Nasica, having ascended the highest steps of the capitol, called aloud on all who regarded the safety of the commonwealth, to follow him in an attack on Tiberius; that, immediately, the chief of the nobility, the senate, and most of the men of equestrian rank, as well as such of the plebeians as had not been infected with the pernicious designs of the Gracchi, rushed together against Tiberius, who, with some bands of his partisans, was standing in the court; that he betook himself to flight, but that, as he was running down the slope of the capitol, he was struck to the ground with a piece of a broken bench.

Thus terminated the career of Tiberius Gracchus, at the early age of thirty years. His triumph had been short, for he was killed on the very day that his adherents were about to continue him in the tribuneship for a second year; and the commotion in which he fell, was the most important of any that had taken place in Rome since the expulsion of the kings.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Appian, and Paterculus.*

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

A Roman tribune who, for a short time, enjoyed great power, by heading the populace against the nobility; and who, with about three thousand other persons, was slain during an insurrection, in the year 632 of the city, and 123 years before the birth of Christ.

THE contentions between the nobility and the people did not terminate with the death of Tiberius Gracchus. For some time afterwards his brother Caius

lived chiefly in retirement; but whenever an opportunity occurred in which he could, with safety, attack the nobility, and lower them in the estimation of the people, he did so.

In the year of the city 627, and about seven years after the death of his brother, he was appointed to attend the consul Aurelius Orestes into *Sardinia*, in the capacity of *quæstor*. This appointment gave much satisfaction to his enemies, as they imagined he would thus be prevented from heading the populace against them. He was not much displeased at it himself; for he was not only gratified by having an appointment in the army, but he was glad to be excused from taking any part in the administration, at a time when he knew he should be personally exposed to the most imminent danger.

Some writers have imagined that Caius Gracchus was desirous of altogether avoiding the course which his brother had pursued. Cicero says that he was anxious to live in retirement, but that many persons believed he had been roused to action, by a dream, in which his brother had appeared to him and exclaimed: "Caius, why lingerest thou? There is no alternative. The Fates have decreed to us the same life and the same death, in asserting and vindicating the rights of the people."

His employment in *Sardinia* gave him an opportunity of acquiring great popularity among the Roman soldiers. During a severe and sickly winter, they were much in want of clothing and provisions. The consul applied, but in vain, to such of the cities as had continued faithful to the Romans. Gracchus, who was both eloquent and enterprising, went to these cities, and prevailed with them to furnish the troops with clothes; and he obtained, from Micipsa, king of Numidia, a supply of corn. The senate would have been delighted with so important a service, had it been obtained by any other person. But, in Caius Gracchus, they imagined that it would

be a prelude to his obtaining an undue degree of favour among the soldiers. To counteract this, they sent fresh troops to the island, and recalled the greatest number of those who had thus been benefited. Gracchus, well aware of the cause of the change, and greatly offended at it, immediately embarked from Sardinia; and, most unexpectedly, made his appearance in *Rome*.

His enemies, of course, censured his conduct for so doing; and even the Roman populace were inclined to consider it very extraordinary that the quæstor should presume to return before his general. He was *accused* before the censors, for a conduct which was so irregular. In his defence, however, he convinced the people that he had been deeply injured, by the charges which his enemies had made against him. “In the government of Sardinia (said he) I have invariably conducted myself, not as consulting my own ambition, but your interest. I have now served in twelve campaigns; and, as quæstor, I have attended my general three years, although the law would have allowed me to return at the end of one. I have not sought to enrich myself. Others have carried out casks full of wine, and have brought them home filled with gold. I am almost the only man who have gone out with a full purse, and returned with an empty one.” He was subsequently accused of having excited disaffection among the allies of the Romans, and, in particular, of having been concerned, with the inhabitants of Fregellæ, a city of Latium, in a conspiracy against the Roman government; but he was acquitted.

The failure of his opponents in substantiating his guilt, tended to elevate him in the estimation of the people; so that, on subsequently offering himself a candidate for the *tribuneship*, he succeeded in the election, although nearly the whole body of patricians was united to oppose him. It is stated that,

on this occasion, the multitudes which assembled to vote for him were so great, that the Campus Martius could not contain them; and that many of them gave their votes, by acclamation, from the tops of the adjacent houses.

As tribune he endeavoured to follow the steps of his brother. In his public orations he incessantly reminded the people of the fatal occurrence by which they had been deprived of so eloquent a leader; and he occasioned several laws to be passed, which had a tendency to increase the authority of the people, and to lessen that of the senate. Among others, was one which took from the senate the power of acting as judges, and vested this power in three hundred knights. Another law ordained that, every month, a certain quantity of corn should be distributed to each citizen, at a very low price. He also procured decrees for sending out colonies, and dividing the public lands among the poor; for making roads, and building public granaries; and for clothing the army at the public expence, which had not before been done.

In matters not connected with the government, Caius Græchus undoubtedly effected many useful works. In particular, he extremely benefited the country by the improvement of the public roads. These he caused to be conducted, in straight lines, through the country, and to be either paved with hewn stone, or covered with a hard and binding sand. He filled up the narrow valleys, or formed bridges across them. He also occasioned all the roads to be measured, and he set up pillars of stone to mark the distances.

So great was, at this time, his ascendancy over the people, that only the regal title seemed wanting, to his being their sovereign. So much were they pleased with the regulations which he introduced, that they would not have refused him any favour he chose to ask. He did not declare himself a candi-

date for the office, and they almost unanimously though illegally, chose him *tribune* for the second year.

The senate, fearful lest his power might become uncontrolable, adopted a very extraordinary mode of seducing the people from him; a mode which, in the end, succeeded even beyond their expectations. They resolved to load the people with favours. In the contests which took place, personal interests and animosity alone seemed to actuate all parties: the true interests of the state, and the happiness of the country, were wholly neglected. Faction was set against faction. The senate engaged in their cause Livius Drusus, another of the tribunes; and, in nearly every instance, where Gracchus proposed a favour to the people, Drusus had directions to propose an increase or an extension of it. For instance, Gracchus proposed to establish two colonies, which should be peopled by some of the most deserving citizens: Drusus, in opposition to him, obtained a decree for twelve colonies, each to consist of three hundred of the lowest persons in the state. This tended strongly to turn the tide of popular feeling against the former favourite: it was supported by the whole mass of the people, for each hoped to derive an advantage from it. Gracchus had caused the public lands to be divided among the poorer classes, on condition that they should each pay, into the treasury, a small rent for them; but Drusus occasioned them to be discharged even from that payment.

With so much apparent disregard to his own interests, or to any desire of personal aggrandizement, or any wish of obtaining personal influence with the people, did Drusus act, that he would not allow himself, as Gracchus had done, to be appointed a commissioner for executing any of the laws which he proposed. In pecuniary affairs, particularly, he would have no personal concern; whereas Gracchus,

in all the most important affairs of the state, chose to place himself at the head.

With great apparent disinterestedness, he proposed that Gracchus should be nominated one of three commissioners for the rebuilding of Carthage, and settling a Roman colony there. But it was an object of considerable importance with Drusus and his party, to obtain the removal of their opponent from Rome. Gracchus accepted the commission; and, during his absence, his enemies unremittingly employed themselves in working his destruction.

On his return, about ten weeks afterwards, he found that Drusus had engrossed the affection of the plebeians. Gracchus now solicited their favour by means that were more servile than any which he had before adopted. He left the mansion of his ancestors, and took a little lodging in the most populous part of the city, that he might be in the midst of his partisans. Scaffolds had been erected in the public forum, for the purpose of more conveniently viewing the exhibition of the gladiators. These, he pretended, were injurious to the common people, who were unable to pay for the hire of places upon them; and he consequently ordered them to be pulled down.

His colleagues in office were so much offended by his conduct respecting these scaffolds, and by the violent manner in which, of late, he had attempted to carry all his measures, that, when the election of the new tribunes took place, the old ones, whose business it was to collect the votes, contrived to have him excluded. Gracchus bore his disappointment with excessive impatience; and, in all the subsequent public debates, he was more clamorous than ever.

In the year 632, Lucius Opimius was elected consul. He had an inveterate dislike to Gracchus, and obtained a repeal of many of those laws which Gracchus had proposed. In this procedure his design was to provoke his opponent to some act of violence, and thus obtain a pretext for destroying him;

and he succeeded. A commotion was excited by a virulent speech of Gracchus, and, in the tumult which ensued, one of the lictors of Opimius was killed. The senate, on an allegation that the state was in danger, armed the consul with absolute power to protect the commonwealth from injury. Gracchus, sincerely grieved at the death of the lictor, reproached his adherents for their imprudence. He was anxiously desirous to make every possible reparation for the injury, but Opimius would admit of none. On the contrary, he assembled the senate, for the purpose of publicly discussing the subject; and, whilst he was in the act of addressing them, the body of the lictor was brought, with loud shouts, through the forum, to the senate-house. There can be no doubt that Opimius had been well acquainted with the intention of his party thus to exhibit the body; but he pretended to be much surprised at seeing it. The senate went out, and, placing themselves around it, expressed their grief in terms so strong, that it might have been imagined some dreadful calamity had befallen the state. This was evidently a manœuvre, intended to rouse the indignation of those who had not been immediately concerned in the affray.

On the other hand, Gracchus, in passing from the forum, stopped before the statue of his father, and stood there weeping. The populace, seeing him thus affected, exclaimed that they never would abandon so estimable a man to the fury of his enemies. A considerable number of them accompanied him home, and guarded his house through the night. In the morning he again went to the forum, though his wife entreated that he would not expose himself to the danger with which he was threatened. She even caught hold of his robe, with the intention of detaining him; but he forced himself away, and left her speechless upon the ground.

Tumult and confusion now raged through every

part of the city. The consular troops were drawn up, by order of the senate; and the partisans of Gracchus armed themselves, and prepared for a dreadful encounter. The former, headed by the consul, occupied the capital; and the others posted themselves on Mount Aventine. Opimius commenced the engagement, by approaching the mount and ordering a body of Cretan archers to discharge their arrows among the multitude. The battle became general; but it was soon terminated by a proclamation of the consul, offering a free pardon to such of the adherents of Gracchus as should desert him; and a reward of their weight in gold, for the heads of Gracchus and his friend Marcus Fulvius. The majority of the populace, induced either by fears for their personal safety, or by hopes of the promised reward, ceased from further contention. The friends of Gracchus advised him to seek for safety in flight. He did so, but was closely pursued into a grove sacred to the Furies, where he was *slain*.

His head was brought to the consul by Lucius Septimuleius. This man, formerly one of his most zealous adherents, had snatched it from the hands of the soldier who had cut it off. On being put into the scales to be weighed, it was ascertained that, for the purpose of enhancing his reward, Septimuleius had taken out the brain, and had filled the cavity with melted lead.

In this affray, and in the executions which afterwards took place, more than three thousand persons lost their lives. The bodies of most of them were thrown into the Tiber; and their relations were forbidden to wear mourning for them.

Caius Gracchus perished about ten years after the death of his brother. With him expired the Agrarian law; and most of the laws proposed by the Gracchi were subsequently repealed. In the ensuing year, Opimius was accused, before the people, by the tribune Publius Duilius, for having put to death

a great number of Roman citizens, without observing the requisite forms of justice; but he was acquitted, in consequence, it is imagined, of the eloquence of the consul Papirius Carbo, who undertook his defence.

The people afterwards consecrated the places where the Gracchi had fallen, and erected statues to their memory, in one of the most public parts of the city. Some persons are said to have even sacrificed and paid devotions to them as gods. To the memory of Cornelia, their mother, who survived them, and who sustained her affliction with great magnanimity, the Romans erected a statue, with this simple inscription: "Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi."

The Roman history, of this period, affords an instructive lesson to all nations. Until the times of the Gracchi, its party struggles, and the almost incessant disunion which prevailed betwixt the higher and lower classes, caused great unhappiness; but they had not been attended by much bloodshed. But civil discord now occasioned the most fatal contentions. These did not cease with the death of the persons who had excited them; but they more or less prevailed until the total overthrow of a government, which has been boasted, by some writers, the most perfect that ever existed.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Appian, and Paternulus.*



CATULUS

MARTIUS



ORCELIUS

NEPES



L. C. SYLLA.

CAIUS MARIUS.

A Roman general of obscure birth and harsh and unprincipled character; who was seven times consul, and remarkable for his military enterprises in Africa, and against the Teutones and Cimbri.

He died in the year 667 of Rome, and 67 years before the Christian era.

FEW of the Roman generals have been more celebrated for military talent, and for all the harsher qualifications of a soldier; few have been more imperious, untractable, and vindictive, than Caius Marius.

His *parents* resided at Arpinum, a town of the Volsci, and were in such indigent circumstances, that Marius himself, when a youth, laboured for hire as a ploughman. An agricultural life, however, was ill suited to his disposition: he consequently entered the *army* as a common soldier; and, in one instance, underwent a disgraceful punishment, for working lazily with his axe, in fortifying the camp."

He served under Scipio Africanus the younger, at *Numantia*; and, before the termination of his first campaign, he exhibited so much ardour, courage, and attention to military discipline, that he was not only promoted from the ranks, but was admitted into the esteem and confidence of his general. The high opinion which Scipio entertained of him, may be understood from the following anecdote. One day, at table, the conversation happening to turn on the subject of great commanders, an officer in company, intending probably to compliment Scipio, asked "where the Romans would find such another general when he was gone?" Scipio put his hand on the shoulder of Marius, who sate next him, and replied: "Here, perhaps."

This reply roused the hopes of Marius to the attainment of the highest honours. He, shortly afterwards, went to *Rome*, and, aided by the influence of the consul, Cæcilius Metellus, on whose house he had an hereditary dependance, he was elected a *tribune of the people*. In this office one of his first proceedings was to propose a law for the prevention of bribery in the election of magistrates. Great offence was given to the patricians by this law; and, although it was passed, Lucius Aurelius Cotta, one of the consuls, obtained a decree by which Marius was cited to give an account of his conduct in having promoted it. When he appeared before the senate, for the purpose of justifying himself, he exhibited none of the embarrassment of a young man; he resolutely declared that, if the decree were not revoked, Cotta should be committed to prison. The latter, turning to Metellus, asked his opinion. Metellus rose and voted with his colleague. On this, Marius instantly ordered a lictor to take him into custody. The prisoner appealed to the other tribunes; but none of them would give him any assistance, and the decree was repealed. Elated with his victory, Marius went immediately from the senate to the forum, and had his law confirmed by the people.

This conduct showed him to be a man of inflexible resolution; and the generality of the Romans were inclined to consider that he would prove a bold asserter of the privileges of the people, against the power of the senate. But their opinion was soon changed; for a law having been proposed concerning the distribution of corn, he, in this instance, as strenuously opposed the populace, as, in the former, he had opposed the senate. By such apparent independence of spirit, however, he, in some degree, obtained the esteem of both; as a man whom they considered to be incapable of serving either, when his so doing would be injurious to the public good.

At the termination of his tribuneship, Marius be-

came a candidate for the office of ædile, but was rejected. Not long afterwards he offered himself for the *prætorship*, and, with some difficulty, succeeded. Notwithstanding the law which he had himself proposed, he was accused of bribery, in obtaining a majority of votes on this occasion; but he was acquitted, in consequence of half the judges being against him, and half in his favour.

Some time after this, Marius had the government of part of *Spain*; and the principal service recorded of him there, was his having cleared all the adjacent country of robbers. On his return to *Rome*, he was desirous of obtaining a share in the administration; but, having neither wealth nor eloquence to recommend him, he was unable to rise so rapidly as he wished. His resolute spirit, his indefatigable industry, and his plain and unostentatious mode of living, obtained for him, however, the favour of the populace, and gradually elevated him into power. His fame, at length, became so well established, that he was considered worthy of alliance with the Cæsars; and married into that illustrious family.

Metellus having received the chief command of an army appointed to act against Jugurtha, in *Nu-midia*, took Marius with him, as one of his lieutenants. Here the subject of our memoir adopted every possible means of increasing his fame. He never declined the most difficult services, nor ever refused to submit to even the most servile conduct, when such was likely to promote his views. By cheerfully enduring hardships, and by rivalling even the common soldiers in abstemiousness and labour, he gained their affections. His fame and influence gradually extended through the army, and even to *Rome*. Many of the officers wrote to their friends in *Rome*, to state that the only means of successfully terminating the war, would be to elect Marius consul. Towards Metellus he exhibited the most con-

summate ingratitude, and an inveteracy of hatred which has not often been exceeded.

After much urgent solicitation, he obtained permission to return to *Rome*; and there, by adducing false charges against his commander, and by pledging himself to the people that, if he had the chief command in Africa, he would either kill Jugurtha, or bring him alive into Italy, he induced them to elect him *consul*. No sooner was this office conferred upon him, than he proceeded, by the most illegal and obnoxious means, to increase the army. With regard to the consulship, he boasted that he "had taken it as a prey, from the men of rank;" and, the more effectually to ingratiate himself in the minds of the populace, he omitted no opportunity of flattering their prejudices, and vilifying the character of the nobility.

The command in *Africa* was given to him, at a time when Metellus had so nearly terminated the war, that nothing remained to be done, but to take the person of Jugurtha. Metellus was overcome with grief and resentment, to be, at such a moment, superseded, and by an inveterate foe, who had assumed the command, for the purpose only of snatching from him, both his victory and his triumph. But, in the conclusion of the war, this ambitious and unprincipled commander was, in his turn, disappointed; for Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, contrived to surrender Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, the Roman quæstor; and thus to rob Marius of the chief glory of his exploits.

In the year of the city 648, the Roman territories were approached by an overwhelming force of Teutones and Cimbri, from the north. The strength of their armies was estimated at three hundred thousand warriors. The danger was so great, and the conduct of Marius had been so obnoxious, that no person of noble or opulent family would offer himself for the consulship: consequently Marius,

though absent, was elected a *second time consul*. He, soon afterwards, returned, with his army, from Africa; and, on the same day, entered on his consulship, and was honoured with a triumph. Jugurtha, now a captive, was exhibited to the Romans in this triumph, as a public spectacle; and, according to the common report, there were carried in it more than three thousand pounds weight of gold, five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pounds of silver bullion, and seventeen thousand and twenty-eight drachmas in silver coin.

When the solemnity of the triumph was ended, Marius assembled the senate in the capitol. Here, either through inadvertence or insolence, he entered in his triumphal robe. But, perceiving that the members of the senate were justly offended, by such an insult, he retired and put on his ordinary habit.

His next military employment was against the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. To train his soldiers to hardship, he accustomed them to long and tedious marches, and compelled every man to carry his own baggage, and to provide his own victuals. So inflexible was he in enforcing obedience to his directions in these particulars, that afterwards the proverb of "Marius's mules," was applied to such laborious people, as executed readily and without murmuring, the orders that were given to them.

The enemy, happily for Marius, had turned their course, from Italy, towards Spain. Hence he had time to strengthen his army, by exercising his men, and exciting and confirming their courage. His popularity was now at its utmost height; and he was once more elected *consul*.

He proceeded towards the mouth of the river *Rhone*, where he encamped his army; and, having fortified his camp, he conveyed into it an immense supply of provisions. For the purpose of more conveniently receiving these, he caused an extensive canal to be made, communicating betwixt the river

and the sea. One division of the barbarians marched, through Liguria, along the sea-coast, to reach Marius. They pushed forward with so much rapidity, that they soon traversed the intermediate country; and presented, to the view of the Romans, an incredible number of men, terrible in their aspect, in their voice, and shouts of war. They spread themselves over a vast extent of ground, near the place where Marius was encamped, and then challenged him to battle.

The Roman soldiers were anxious for the combat; but Marius rebuked them for their rashness, and resolutely insisted that they should keep within their trenches. He made the soldiers mount guard by turns, upon the ramparts, for the purpose of accustoming them to behold the dreadful looks of the enemy, and to hear their savage voices without alarm; as well as to make them acquainted with the appearance of their weapons, and with their modes of using them. It was not, however, without the utmost difficulty that he could restrain the impetuosity of his men, and prevent them from engaging in a disadvantageous attack on so numerous an host. For the purpose of restraining their eagerness, he declared that "he had been directed, by certain oracles, to wait for an indication both of the time and place, which were to ensure him the victory." He had, in the camp, a Syrian woman, who was carried about upon a litter, with great solemnity, and who pretended to be a prophetess; and this direction was stated to have been given by her.

The enemy became impatient of delay, and, as Marius refused to fight, they were determined, if possible, to force his entrenchments. They made the attempt, but were received with such a shower of darts from the camp, that they were repulsed with great slaughter. After this, they resolved to pass the Roman army, and leave Marius in the rear. They consequently packed up their baggage, and proceeded on their

march. Then it was that the immensity of their numbers was first correctly observed. On traversing the plain, near the Roman entrenchments, they tauntingly asked the men, "whether they had any commands to their wives, as they should shortly be with them?" As soon, however, as the barbarians had all passed, Marius decamped and followed; always keeping near them, and choosing strong places for his camp at night: these he regularly fortified, that his troops might pass the nights in safety. The two armies thus marched nearly to the foot of the Alps. Here, Marius, having obtained a favourable situation and opportunity for attack, took advantage of it; and, in a battle which followed, great multitudes of the enemy were slain. They had, indeed, opposed the Romans with the most dreadful fury; and, even at the close of the day, myriads of the barbarians seemed still to be left. The Romans were inexpressibly terrified, and even Marius was not free from apprehension, lest he should be attacked, during the night, in a disadvantageous position, and without either trench or rampart to defend his army. But the barbarians were ignorant of his exposed situation, and, consequently, were unable to take advantage of it. By a skilful manœuvre of Marius, the enemy, on the ensuing day, was attacked both in front and rear; and, unable long to oppose this double shock, they broke their ranks and fled. The Romans pursued them in all directions, and are said to have killed and taken prisoners, more than an hundred thousand of them: they also obtained possession of their tents, carriages, and baggage.

When the battle was ended, Marius gave directions that a selection should be made, from among the arms and other spoils, of such as were likely to make the most brilliant appearance in the procession of his triumph. The rest he piled together, for the purpose of offering them, a splendid sacrifice to the

gods. The Roman soldiers, crowned with laurel, were assembled round the pile; and Marius, clad in a purple robe, had taken into his hand a lighted torch, for the purpose of setting fire to it, when a party of Romans were seen galloping towards the spot. On their arrival, they leaped from their horses, and saluted Marius *consul for the fifth time*. The soldiers expressed their joy by acclamations and loudly clanking their arms; and, whilst the officers presented him with crowns of laurel, he set fire to the pile and completed the sacrifice.

Not long after this, intelligence was brought to Rome, that Catulus, the other consul, had been defeated in the Alps, by a detachment of the Cimbri; and that, the intervening country being left without defence, the enemy had overrun and plundered it in various directions. Marius was, consequently, recalled to *Rome*; and the senate passed a decree that he should be honoured with a triumph. He, however, for the present declined it, hoping, probably, that, after another defeat of the enemy, his triumph might be the more splendid.

As soon as his forces were ready, and he had been joined by that part of the army which had been in Gaul, he hastened to relieve Catulus. He then crossed the river Po, with the intention of preventing the barbarians from penetrating into the interior of Italy. A little while after his arrival near the camp of the *Cimbri*, Boiorix, the king of that people, attended by a small party of horse soldiers, advanced in front of his army, and challenged the Romans to battle. They did not decline the combat; and, on an appointed day, the two armies were drawn up opposite to each other. In the hope of being able to appropriate to himself the whole honour of the victory, Marius ranged his forces in such manner, that it was possible the defeat of the enemy might be accomplished by the two wings, before Catulus, to whom he had given the command of the centre,

could come up. At the commencement of the battle, a prodigious cloud of dust concealed the armies from each other. Marius, who first moved to the charge, passed the ranks of the Cimbri, and wandered about with his troops, unable to discover his foe. Catulus was more successful: in the conflict which took place with his legions, the enemy's commander was slain; and, although the Cimbri were infinitely more numerous than the Romans, the greatest and best part of their troops were cut to pieces. Notwithstanding the fact of the defeat having been chiefly effected by Catulus, Marius, for a while, contrived to obtain the whole merit and honour of the victory; and, when he returned to the capital, he was saluted as "the third Founder of Rome;" having rescued her from a danger not less dreadful than that which she had incurred from the Gauls, in the time of Camillus. The populace wished to give him the exclusive honour of a triumph; but this, he had the honesty to reject, and consequently shared it with Catulus.

After the termination of his fifth consulate, Marius aspired to the honour of a sixth, with more ardour than most men have shown for a first; and, with a view of obtaining it, he courted the favour of the people, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself even with the meanest of them, by the most servile condescensions. For the purpose of ensuring their exertions in his favour, he assumed towards them an air of gentleness and compliance, which was altogether unnatural to him; and, in no case, did he scruple to make his honesty subservient to his ambition.

By conduct like this, we cannot be surprised that he should have rendered himself obnoxious to all the patricians; and, towards Metellus, who had always shown an honest indignation against such persons as by dishonourable arts had sought to gain the favour of the people, his conduct was, in particular,

disgraceful. He left no means untried, by which he could prejudice the Romans against this eminent general; and he, at length, succeeded in obtaining a decree that he should be interdicted the use of fire and water, and that no man should admit him into his house. This, being a virtual banishment from the Roman territory, Metellus retired to the island of Rhodes, where he passed most of his time in the study of philosophy.

The whole subsequent conduct of Marius was so selfish and so dishonourable, that he gradually rendered himself odious to the plebeians as well as to the patricians. At the ensuing election of censors, he did not even dare to offer himself a candidate, lest he should be rejected. After this, his opponents exerted their utmost efforts to effect his disgrace; and they at length succeeded in obtaining an edict for the recall of Metellus. Marius, unable to endure the presence of a man whom he had so deeply injured, contrived to make a voyage into *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*. His pretence for this voyage was the fulfilment of a sacred vow; but the real causes of it were a desire to be some time absent from Rome, and a hope that he might be able to rouse the Asiatic kings to a war with the Romans. The latter project, however, wholly failed.

On his return to *Rome*, he built a house near the forum, hoping to have, constantly at his gates, a numerous concourse of people; but in this he was mistaken. Marius was mortified at the decline of his own popularity, but he was not less mortified at the increase of that of a man whom he both hated and dreaded. *Sylla*, who has already been mentioned, as having acted under Marius, in Africa, was as unprincipled, and more artful, than himself. He rose, in the administration, chiefly in consequence of the envy which the nobles bore to his rival; and, after a while, he became so popular, that Bocchus, king of Mauritania, now an ally of the Romans, was

induced to erect, in the capitol, some figures of victory, and to place, by their side, a group of gilded statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla. This circumstance rendered the fury of Marius almost ungovernable; and its consequence would probably have been an immediate and dreadful commotion in the state, had not the "*Social war*," or war of the allies, at this period, broken out.

In this war Marius was employed, but, in conducting it, his military reputation was by no means increased. He was slow in his resolutions, and dilatory in his attacks. In one battle, indeed, he defeated the enemy, with a loss of six thousand men; and, throughout the whole campaign, he took care to give them no advantage over him; yet he greatly disappointed the expectation of his countrymen, and, at last, pretending to be incapacitated for service, he gave up the command.

Two years after this, at the commencement of the *Mithridatic war*, desirous of again being employed, he affected to shake off his former infirmities; and, to convince the people that his bodily powers were still unimpaired, he was present every day at the Campus Martius, where, although he had become corpulent and heavy, he underwent the most robust exercises with the young men, and showed himself nimble in the use of arms, and active on horseback. Some persons, says Plutarch, were pleased with his conduct, and went to witness the spirit which he exerted in these exercises; but the more sensible of the people, when they beheld it, pitied the avarice and ambition of a man, who, though elevated from poverty to opulence, and from the meanest condition to greatness, knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune. It shocked them to think that this man, instead of being contented with the admiration he had gained, and, instead of enjoying his present

possessions in peace, should be anxious, at so advanced an age, and after so many honours and triumphs, of being employed to fight with the lieutenants of Mithridates.

About this time, the tribune *Publius Sulpicius*, having secured in his interest about six hundred men of the equestrian order, whom he called his "anti-senate," determined, if possible, to overthrow the constitution. Whilst Sylla, who was now one of the consuls, was engaged in besieging Nola, Sulpicius obtained entire influence over the city, and caused the command of the army to be decreed to Marius. No sooner, however, was Sylla informed of this circumstance, than he marched his men into Rome, and Marius was compelled to seek for safety in flight. He escaped to the sea-coast, and, there embarking, sailed eastward along the Italian shore, till, being overtaken by a storm, he was compelled to land near *Circæum*, a little town in Campania. Here he was recognized by a few herdsmen, almost the only inhabitants of that part of the country. They advised him to hasten immediately away, as a party of horsemen had just passed, in pursuit of him. In the agony of his distress, he turned out of the high road, and entered a thick wood, where he passed the night, in the most frightful anxiety. On the ensuing morning, nearly exhausted by hunger, he proceeded to the sea-shore. He now implored of his companions not to desert him; but entreated them to await the accomplishment of his last hope, the fulfilment, as he asserted, of an ancient prediction, that his career of glory was not yet terminated, and that he should be a seventh time consul.

At this instant they espied a troop of horsemen rapidly approaching them; and, at the same time, two vessels were sailing along the shore. Exerting, therefore, all their remaining strength, they ran to the sea, and, plunging into the water, swam off, towards the ships; but Marius was so unwieldy, that

it was not without difficulty he could be supported in the water and lifted on board. When the horsemen had approached the spot, they called aloud to the ship's crew, either to come on shore, or to throw him into the sea. With tears, entreaties, and promises, he, however, induced them to declare that they would endeavour to save his life; and the soldiers rode off, disappointed and enraged by the loss of their prey. Not long afterwards, the seamen changed their minds; and, fearful of the danger to which they might be exposed, for protecting a person of his importance, whom the government had ordered to be apprehended, they resolved to set him on shore. They therefore cast anchor near the mouth of the river *Liris*, landed him, and, immediately afterwards, sailed away.

Marius was overwhelmed with astonishment and terror at this unlooked-for disaster. He sat, for some time, gazing at the vessel, in silent stupefaction. At length he rose, and, with difficulty, scrambled over a succession of wild and almost impassable places, through bogs and ditches, till he came to the cottage of an old man, who worked in the fens. He threw himself at the feet of this man, and implored his protection: entreating him "to save and shelter one, who, if he escaped the present danger, would reward him far beyond his hopes." The cottager, commiserating the distress of the stranger, told him that his hut would be sufficient, if he wished only to repose himself; but that, if he was wandering about, to elude the search of his enemies, it would be requisite to conceal him in a place more retired. Marius entreated him to do so; and the cottager conducted him into the fens, to a kind of cavern in the bank of a river; supplying him with a quantity of reeds and dried grass to lie upon; or, in case of necessity, to throw over him.

Marius had not long been concealed, before he was alarmed by a tumultuous noise near the cottage; a

party of soldiers having arrived there in search of him. He had been traced nearly to this spot; and the old man was threatened with immediate death, unless he informed them of the place of his concealment. Marius overheard the conversation; and, stripping himself, he quitted the cave, and plunged into the bog, amidst the water and mud. This, however, tended rather to discover than to conceal him. He was soon observed, and, being dragged out, naked and covered with dirt, was conveyed to the town of *Minturnæ*, and there delivered to the magistrates.

At *Minturnæ* he was lodged in the house of a woman whose name was *Fannia*, and who was supposed to entertain an inveterate hatred against him, in consequence of a disgrace to which, while he was consul, he had subjected her. She, however, bore him no malice, and afforded him every accommodation in her power. A proclamation had been issued from Rome, authorizing any one who found Marius, to put him to death. In consequence of this proclamation, the magistrates and council of *Minturnæ* ordered that he should immediately be executed; but they could find no citizen who would undertake the office of executioner. A horse-soldier, however, a deserter either from the Gaulish or the Cimbrian army, was induced, by the promise of an adequate reward, to enter the apartment of Marius, for the purpose of stabbing him. With his drawn sword in his hand, he opened the door. The Roman general fixed his eyes attentively upon him, and called aloud: "Fellow, dost thou dare to kill *Marius*?" On which the terrified dragoon dropped his sword and fled.

Some of the inhabitants of *Minturnæ*, now touched with compassion for the fate of so eminent a man, caused him to be conveyed on board a ship; and he escaped to Africa. After he had landed, he pro-

ceeded to *Carthage*; and, for some time, he lay concealed among the ruins of that city. The governor, fearful of giving offence, by suffering him any longer to continue there, sent an officer to order him out of Africa. To this officer Marius said: "Go, tell the governor that thou hast seen the exiled Marius, sitting upon the ruins of Carthage: the same Marius, who has been six times consul, who has been denominated the 'third founder of Rome;' and whom the Romans, in their libations, have associated with their gods." This Marius, was now an exile, seated on the ruins of a city once wealthy and powerful; a city which had disputed, with Rome, in three destructive wars, the empire of the world. He shortly afterwards left Carthage, and retired to the island of *Circina*, not far distant.

Here he was informed that Sylla, his rival, and through whose influence he had been proscribed, was with the Roman army in Bœotia; and that his own party, with Cinna the new consul at their head, had regained the ascendancy in Rome. These circumstances induced him to return to Italy. He landed in *Tuscany*, and, having collected there a considerable number of troops, he filled with them forty ships, and proceeded along the shore to *Ostia*, the port of Rome. There he landed, and thence he marched to the *capital*. He entered the city at the head of his troops; and, with almost unequalled cruelty, he put all his enemies to the sword, without regard to age, dignity, or former services. Among the rest who were thus sacrificed to his resentment, were Cneius Octavius, the consul, and Quintus Catulus, formerly his own colleague in the consulship. Marius is said to have ordered, that his soldiers should destroy every one of those to whom he did not stretch out his hand, in friendship, when they saluted him.

Cinna, who hitherto had calmly beheld the butchering of his fellow-citizens, now began to be ap-

palled with the blood that was shed; but the fury of Marius seemed to increase with the slaughter, and he went on, destroying all those of whom he had the least shadow of suspicion. In conclusion, Marius caused himself to be chosen *consul the seventh time*, and Cinna to be made his associate in that office.

They did not, however, long enjoy this blood-stained dignity, before intelligence was brought that Sylla had terminated the Mithridatic war; and that, after having reduced the Asiatic provinces to obedience, he was returning, with a large army, to Rome. We now behold this wretched victim of ambition and avarice, worn out with toils and haunted by remorse, expecting, on the arrival of his opponent, the retaliation of all his enormities. His faculties fail him, and, to overcome his fears, he indulges in intemperance, till he is thrown into a fever, which leaves him no hopes of life. Here, at the point of death, we can behold the bed on which he is stretched in no other light than a scaffold, prepared for his punishment. His own crimes are his executioners; and he sinks, under the agonies which they inflict, an object of detestation to his associates, and of abhorrence to himself.

“Thus, (says Plutarch,) at the age of seventy years, distinguished by the unparalleled honour of seven consulships, and possessed of a more than regal fortune, died Marius, with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he desired.”

Some of the ancient writers, forgetting the vices of Marius, and contemplating only his military exploits, rank him among the most virtuous and estimable of the Roman citizens. Cicero, erroneously, styles him “the father of his country; the parent of Roman liberty; the guardian of the state and of the empire; a man as excellent as he was wise.”

He died in the year of Rome 667, and eighty-

seven years before the Christian era. Some time after his death, his ashes were dug up by order of Sylla, and scattered before the winds.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Sallust, and Appian.*



LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA.

A Roman general of great military renown, but of cruel and profligate character; who was remarkable for having served under Marius, in Numidia, where he received the surrender of Jugurtha; for his subsequent contests with Marius; his successes against the armies of Mithridates; his occasioning himself to be proclaimed perpetual dictator; his proscriptions and massacres.

He died, of a horrible disease, in the year 676 of Rome, and 78 years before the birth of Christ.



DURING his youth, Sylla was extremely profligate: he passed much of his time in the company of buffoons, mimics, and jesters; yet he had sufficient perseverance to acquire a competent knowledge both of Latin and Grecian literature.

When he had arrived at *manhood*, his figure was well formed, and erect. His eyes were blue, fierce, and menacing; and his face was of so singular a colour, that it is supposed to have given origin to his name, the word *syl* signifying a yellow kind of earth, which, when burnt, becomes red. Plutarch asserts that his face was of a deep red colour, interspersed with spots of white; and says that an Athenian jester once compared it to “a mulberry sprinkled “with meal.”

The first public employment which Sylla appears to have obtained, was that of *quæstor* to Marius, when the latter, as consul, was sent into *Numidia*,

to carry on the war against Jugurtha. After some partial successes, the Roman army was surprised by Jugurtha, and his father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauritania; and was obliged, for a little while, to retreat; but it, soon afterwards, returned upon the assailants, and put them to flight, with great loss. Much of the success, in this struggle, was attributed to the talents and bravery of Sylla, who now acquired the confidence and even the friendship of his general; though he had before been despised on account of his profligate habits. The enemy attacked the Romans a second time, and were totally defeated. After this, Bocchus, desirous of throwing off his alliance with Jugurtha, entered, privately, into a treaty with Marius; and, through the influence of Sylla, obtained permission to send ambassadors to Rome, to sue for peace, and to entreat that he might be admitted into friendship and alliance with the Romans.

Jugurtha, not long afterwards, was at the court of Bocchus; and the latter sent information to Sylla, that, if he would come, with a few troops, to the Numidian camp, Jugurtha should be delivered into his hands. Rash and dangerous as it was to trust himself in the power of a barbarian, and of one who, in this very act, was affording a proof of his treachery, Sylla accepted the invitation. In fact, when both Jugurtha and Sylla were within his power, and when Bocchus knew that he must betray one of them, he, for some time, hesitated which of the two it should be. His fear of the Romans, however, prevailed, and he sacrificed Jugurtha.

With the subjugation of this prince, the Numidian war was terminated. Marius enjoyed the triumph for it; but Sylla, by constantly using, as the seal of his letters and dispatches, an engraved representation of Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, contrived to insinuate, to the Romans, that all the merit of it was due to him. Marius was much offended by this,

but Sylla was not yet of sufficient age or character to be an object of his envy. He was employed during both the second and third consulate of Marius; and, in the latter, he had the command of a thousand men.

Sylla was afterwards employed in *Italy*, by Catulus, the colleague of Marius; and so great was his success, in several brilliant enterprises, and so much celebrity did he acquire, that he was, at length, induced to imagine that he possessed sufficient influence to obtain a share in the government. He, therefore, left the camp, and returned to *Rome*. Here he offered himself a candidate for the office of *prætor*, but was not successful. In the ensuing year he again offered himself, and, in consequence, as it is said, partly of his assiduities, and partly to his having bribed several of the electors, he was returned.

During his prætorship, he entertained the Romans with some extraordinary exhibitions in the Circus; but particularly with a combat between a hundred lions, and some Mauritanian hunters. Combats with ferocious animals, were a barbarous species of exhibition, in which the Romans greatly delighted, and with which Sylla was enabled to gratify them, to an almost unprecedented extent, in consequence of his connexions with Bocchus.

After the expiration of the first year of his prætorship, Sylla was appointed governor of the *Roman provinces in Asia*. Mithridates, king of Pontus, more known in history for his cruelty, than even for his great exploits, had, by assassination or by poison, destroyed nearly all the princes of *Cappadocia*, and had placed a son of his own upon the throne of that kingdom, under the guardianship of Gordius, one of his courtiers. This Gordius, Sylla defeated; and, by so doing, was enabled to restore Ariobarzanes to the throne of *Cappadocia*.

On his return to *Rome*, an irreconcilable quarrel,

which had taken place betwixt himself and *Marius*, was revived, by the circumstance of Bocchus having caused several images of victory to be placed in the capitol, and, among them, a representation of Jugurtha in chains, as delivered up to Sylla. Irritated by what he considered so directly personal an insult, *Marius* was resolved to pull the images down; and the friends of Sylla assembled to protect them. The whole city was in commotion, and, in the unsettled state of the Roman government, a civil war might have been the consequence of this private quarrel, had not the increasing sedition been, for a while, suspended, by the breaking out of what was called the "*Social war*."

Sylla was one of the commanders employed in this war; and he performed so many memorable exploits, that most of the Roman citizens considered him a great general; his friends asserted that he was the greatest, and his enemies, that he was the most fortunate of generals. He had no objection to even the last of these epithets; for he considered that it added an air of grandeur, and even of divinity to his actions. Fortune was worshipped by the Romans as a goddess, and he considered himself flattered by being thought under the superintendance of so favourite a deity.

There was scarcely a man in Rome, of more unamiable or more inconsistent *character*. He was rapacious, yet liberal; submissive, and even obsequious, to those from whom he hoped to derive advantage; but harsh and severe towards such as were in need of his services. On the slightest grounds he would sometimes inflict even torture; and, at other times, he would overlook the commission of the greatest enormities. But the chief object of his inveteracy was *Marius*, whose destruction he unremittingly studied to effect.

In the year of the city 665, he was elected *consul*, and was extremely anxious to obtain the management of the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus.

This was also an object of anxiety to Marius. A virulent contest took place betwixt the friends of each party. Sylla being, at this time, encamped, with the Roman army, before *Nola*, in Campania, the intrigues of the tribune Sulpicius, obtained, for Marius, the appointment. No sooner was Sylla informed of this, than he assembled his troops, reminded them of the victories they had obtained under his command, stated that rich spoils might be gained in the war against Mithridates, and exaggerated the disgraceful campaign of Marius. A loud shout followed, and an exclamation, "Let us hasten to Rome, and avenge the cause of oppressed liberty." This was a term used by all parties, as a watchword for promoting their own views, and, in this instance, was equally adopted by the adherents of Sylla and of Marius. The trumpets were sounded, the troops marched to *Rome*, and, after a faint resistance from the soldiers under Marius, made themselves masters of the capitol. On the ensuing day, Sylla caused a decree to be passed, declaring Marius's appointment void, and that no law should, thenceforth, be proposed by the tribunes, until it had been approved by the senate; and another decree for the death of Marius, of his son, of Sulpicius, and nine other senators of the same party.

The contests which resulted from the private quarrel between Sylla and Marius, proved more injurious to the republic than all the wars in which it had previously been engaged: these contests were even represented, by the augurs, to have been prefigured by prodigies of various kinds. A few of them may be mentioned, for the purpose of showing the excessive credulity of the Roman people. Fire was seen to blaze from the ensign staves: three ravens brought their young ones into the city, devoured them there, and carried the remains back to their nests. While the senate were assembled, a sparrow,

in the sight of the whole body, brought, in her mouth, a grasshopper; and, after she had torn it asunder, she left one part with them, and carried the other part away. From the last incident, the augurs declared that a fatal dispute was to be expected between the town and the country: the inhabitants of the town they described to be noisy, like the grasshopper; and those of the country, domestic, like the sparrow.

Sulpicius was betrayed by one of his slaves, and beheaded; and the conduct of Sylla towards this slave, was strangely inconsistent. He had issued a proclamation of freedom to any of the slaves of *Sulpicius*, who should cause his apprehension: he, accordingly, gave this man his liberty, but he immediately afterwards ordered him to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, as a punishment for having betrayed his master.

Marius fled to the sea-coast, and his son escaped into Africa, leaving Sylla without opponent. The latter arranged the affairs in the city, with as much expedition as possible, and then set out, with his troops, to act against *Mithridates*, who had obtained possession of Asia Minor, and of a considerable part of Macedonia and Greece. Sylla first sailed to Greece; and he commenced his operations by investing the city of *Athens*, which, at this time, was held by *Ariston*, one of the generals of *Mithridates*.

He was anxious to obtain possession of this place in as short a time as possible, that he might return to Rome; for, in the unsettled state of the Roman government, he was fearful lest, during his absence, some change, to his prejudice, might be effected in the opinions of the people. He therefore brought against it warlike implements of every description, at that time in use; and left no kind of assault unattempted. To effect his purpose, he found that greater sums of money were requisite, than he possessed; and, to obtain these, he plundered the

Grecian temples of their most sacred and valuable treasures. He even wrote to *Delphi*, to request that the treasures of Apollo, in that sanctuary, might be placed in his hands; stating, that he would either preserve them inviolate, or that, if he applied them, for the use of his army, he would return, for them, their full value.

The officer whom he sent to Delphi, expressed, to the persons who had the care of the temple, his deep regret, in being thus compelled to deprive them of their sacred deposits. The priests, after consulting together, on the subject, alarmed him, by stating that Apollo disapproved of their being taken away; for that they had heard the sound of his lyre; in the inmost sanctuary. Hoping that he should be able to inspire his master with the same religious terror which he had himself experienced, the officer wrote to him an account of this mysterious sound. Sylla, however, was too cunning to be duped by such a stratagem. He replied, that "he was surprised the officer should not know that music was the voice of joy and not of resentment. He, therefore, begged of him, without hesitation, to take the treasures, as Apollo had indicated his satisfaction in their being given up." They were, accordingly, all carried away; and some idea of their immense value, may be formed, when it is stated that, amongst them, there was one vase of silver, so large and heavy that no carriage could be found strong enough to bear it; it was, consequently, cut to pieces and carried off in fragments.

By means of these treasures, Sylla was not only enabled to support all the ordinary expences of the war, but to seduce, to the Roman interest, many of the troops of the enemy; and, lavishly to supply the wants of his own. Much of this, however, was very short-sighted policy; for, while he was teaching the troops of his adversary to desert from their ranks, he did not contemplate that he was giving similar

authority to his own; and, by ministering to the vices of his soldiers, he was not aware that, by degrees, he was making himself their slave.

Sylla experienced great difficulty in obtaining possession of Athens. Ariston, the Athenian governor, held the place until the inhabitants were reduced to a condition of indescribable distress. Their provisions being exhausted, they were obliged not only to eat the herbs and roots which grew wild about the citadel, but even to devour sodden leather, oil-bags, and skins of the most filthy and disgusting kind. The senators and priests went, in a body, to Ariston, to implore that he would enter into a treaty of capitulation with Sylla; but he ordered his soldiers to receive them with a shower of arrows. The cruelty and the impolicy of this conduct were soon shown. Sylla gave directions that the city should be stormed. The Roman soldiers scaled the walls, and, at midnight, entered it in a manner the most dreadful that can be imagined. They were permitted, without restraint, to plunder and destroy. With swords in their hands, they rushed along the streets; and there, and in the houses, they slew thousands of the inhabitants. After a while, however, partly by the entreaties of the survivors, partly by the intercession of honourable-minded men in his own army, and partly by his thirst for blood having been satiated, Sylla was induced to suspend the work of slaughter. "I forgive (said he) the many, for the sake of the few; the living, for the sake of the illustrious dead."

During the siege of Athens, Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, had advanced, through Thrace, with more than a hundred thousand men. Notwithstanding the approach of so powerful a force, Sylla was obliged to conduct his soldiers into the *plains of Bœotia*, for the purpose of their obtaining rest and refreshment. Many persons have considered this to have been a great military error, as he

was thereby exposed to attack by the numerous cavalry of the enemy. But he had no alternative, than either to have his army destroyed by famine, or to risk the event of a disadvantageous battle.

Scarcely had the Romans entrenched and fortified their camp, when they were surrounded by a force at least seven times greater than their own. In the utmost consternation, they retired within their trenches; and it was in vain that Sylla endeavoured to rouse and animate them. An error, however, which, in many other instances besides this, has been the ruin of an army, was committed by the enemy. Despising a force so much inferior to their own, they were wholly negligent of discipline. For the purpose of obtaining plunder, they often dispersed themselves through the country, and sometimes to great distances, leaving but few men in the camp. Sylla was too experienced a general not to take every possible advantage of their neglect. Watching a favourable opportunity, he suddenly attacked, and with complete success, such of them as were left; and, in a subsequent battle, he routed the whole remainder, destroying all, except about ten thousand men, who fled and escaped.

Not long afterwards he defeated, near *Orchomenos*, an army still more numerous. In the onset of this battle, the Romans had been excessively terrified; and a considerable body of them had fled. But Sylla, with great presence of mind, leaped from his horse, seized one of the standards, and rushed through the midst of the fugitives towards the enemy, exclaiming: "Here, Romans, is the bed of honour, in which I am to die. When you are asked where you betrayed your general, say it was at *Orchomenos*." This prompt address arrested their flight: Sylla drew off his troops, for a little while, reanimated their courage, and, in a subsequent attack, totally routed the enemy. After this battle he conveyed his forces into *Asia Minor*.

During his absence from Rome, his *political opponents* had used every exertion to undermine him in the estimation of the people. And information was now conveyed to him, that the consuls Cinna and Carbo had caused a great number of his friends to be slain; that his houses and villas had all been burnt; and that his wife and children had, with difficulty, escaped. The perplexity of Sylla, on receiving this intelligence, may be imagined. He knew not how to act: he dreaded the consequences, to himself, of not immediately appearing in Rome; and yet he could not leave unfinished so important an object as the Mithridatic war. From this embarrassment, however, he was soon relieved by intelligence that Archelaus was inclined to enter into a treaty with him. A *peace with Mithridates* was, shortly afterwards, effected; and, when Sylla had completed the requisite arrangements in Asia, he sailed, with his whole fleet, from Ephesus to *Athens*, and thence to *Italy*.

Cinna and the elder Marius both died, and the chief opponents of Sylla now were the younger Marius, and the consuls, Cornelius Scipio and C. Junius Norbanus. Sylla had landed at *Tarentum*, a town in Calabria; and, as soon as his arrival in Italy had been made known, Marius and Norbanus marched against him, with a force of nearly two hundred thousand men, whilst his own troops were not more than forty thousand in number. Sylla, however, had the fullest confidence both in himself and his men. After having, in vain, made proposals of peace, to Norbanus, he attacked him in his camp, defeated him, and compelled him to seek for safety within the walls of Capua. This victory drew over to him, nearly all the nobility: and, partly by bribery, and partly by conflict in the field, he contrived to defeat, in succession, all the troops that were brought against him. It was accurately said of Sylla, that "in him, his enemies had to contend both with a fox and a

“lion; but that the fox was the more formidable of the two.”

In a subsequent battle, which was fought near *Rome*, and which was contended with greater obstinacy than any in which he had previously been engaged, he appears to have been exposed to great personal danger. He rode a white horse of uncommon fleetness and spirit; and two of the soldiers, in the ranks of his opponents, levelled their spears at him. One of the servants of Sylla, happening to be near him, and perceiving their intention, suddenly lashed his master's horse, and made him spring forward, so that the spears only grazed the animal's tail, and fell harmless to the ground. At one time the whole left wing of his army was routed, and Sylla was obliged to mix with the fugitives, in order to regain his camp. In this part of the battle he lost many of his friends; and great numbers of people, who had gone from *Rome* to witness the conflict, were trodden under foot and killed. At last, however, he succeeded in rallying his men, and obtained a decisive victory.

He now marched into the city; and, having collected together and secured his prisoners, several thousands in number, he *assembled the senate* in the temple of *Bellona*. During an harangue which he made to that body, on the state of the public affairs, his soldiers (as they had been commanded) rushed upon the prisoners and murdered them all. The screams of so great a number of persons, massacred in one place, were most terrific. The senators, overwhelmed with astonishment and dismay, enquired what had occasioned them; but Sylla, with great apparent indifference, bade them “mind their own business, and not trouble themselves with what was going on: the noise they had heard only came from some malefactors, whom he had ordered to be punished.”

It is impossible to form a correct judgment of the

characters of men, until we know that they act without constraint. Some circumstances have been recorded of Sylla, which might have led us to suppose that he was not destitute of the sentiments of gratitude and moderation: but when these are examined, it will be found that, in every case, where they appear, he either stood in need of the assistance of his friends, or had reason to dread the power of his enemies. But, as soon as he had triumphed over all opposition, he gave full sway to his *cruelty* and *ingratitude*. His barbarity has not often been equalled. In the death of Marius the Romans believed that they were delivered from tyranny; but, in receiving Sylla, they found that they had only exchanged tyrants.

No sooner had Sylla re-established himself in the Roman government, than the city was kept in a state of incessant alarm, by his *proscriptions* and *massacres*. These were so long continued, that, at length, Caius Metellus, a young nobleman, ventured, in the senate, to ask him: "Tell us, Sylla, when our calamities are to terminate? How far do you mean to proceed? and when may we hope you will cease? We do not ask of you to spare those whom you have already marked out for destruction; but we do ask for an exemption from anxiety, for those whom you have determined to save." Sylla merely replied that "he did not yet know whom he should save." "Then (answered Metellus) let us know who those are whom you intend to destroy." He said "he would do so," and immediately named eighty persons. The public expressed great indignation at his conduct, notwithstanding which, two days afterwards he proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and, on the third day, an equal number. He then told the people, that "he had now proscribed all whom he could recollect; and that such as he had forgotten, must be included in some future proscription."

With regard to the *proscription*, the invention of which has been attributed to Sylla, it is to be observed that the names of the individuals, marked out for destruction, were written on tablets or boards, and fixed up at the forum, with the offer of a reward to such persons as should apprehend or destroy them, and a denunciation of punishment to such as should cancel them. And the property of the person proscribed was forfeited. The number of persons who perished under the proscriptions of Sylla, are said to have been four thousand seven hundred, of whom two thousand were senators and knights.

But the cruelties of Sylla did not cease with the proscription. At *Præneste*, a city not far distant from Rome, he caused many of the inhabitants to be accused of disaffection to him; and, at first, executed them singly; but, finding that he had not leisure for such formalities, he had them collected together, about twelve thousand in number, and ordered them all, except one, to be put to death. The person thus excepted had formerly entertained Sylla at his house. But afflicted by his cruelties, he declared that "he would not be indebted for his life to the destroyer of his country," and, voluntarily rushing among the crowd, suffered with the rest.

The Romans must have been a most degraded people, to have submitted to cruelties like these; but the unsettled state of their government, their want of unanimity, the ambition of the higher orders, and the power which had been gradually attained by the populace, men ignorant of even the first principles of government, and who were liable to be led astray and to follow the dictates of any unprincipled leader who chose to court their favour:—the natural tendency of all this was to place the reins of government in the hands of some self-interested leader. And they were now in the hands of one whose power was without control.

The two consuls being dead, Sylla retired into the

country for a few days, and then gave orders that it was requisite for the people to appoint a *dictator*; stating that, if they chose to lay this burden upon him, he would accept it for the good of the republic. He well knew that, after such an intimation, they would not dare to do otherwise than elect him. He was accordingly named dictator, although, before this time, no instance had occurred of a dictator having been created by the people. Besides, the administration of this office had hitherto been limited to six months; but he was appointed to it for an unlimited time. All the powers of the most absolute monarchy being now, in fact, vested in him, he occasioned an act of amnesty, or indemnification, to be passed, for all that he had done. He obtained also a decree, by which he was formally invested with the power of life and death, of confiscating property, of building or demolishing cities; and of giving or taking away kingdoms at his pleasure.

The power thus conferred upon him, he exercised in so arbitrary and despotic a manner, that no one who possessed large estates could consider himself safe. And the revenues of whole cities and provinces were, in many instances, expended upon mimics, buffoons, dancers, and persons of the most abandoned and profligate character.

For the purpose, however, of recovering some degree of popularity, he made several *laws* which were beneficial to the state; and, at length, when he was satiated with blood, he decreed to himself the honour of a *public triumph*. This was rendered magnificent, by an extraordinary display of wealth, and of spoils obtained in Greece and Asia, and a long procession of captives. At the termination of his triumph, Sylla, in a set speech to the people, recited an account of his own actions, and concluded with an order that, for the future, he should be called "*Felix*," or "the fortunate." But Paterculus observes that "he might more correctly

“have deserved this appellation, if he had ceased to live, on the day that he had completed his conquests.”

In the six hundred and seventy-third year of the city, Sylla, though dictator, caused himself to be elected *consul*, in conjunction with Metellus Pius. At last, after he had ruled with absolute sway for nearly three years; had put an infinite number of persons to death, had violated the constitution, and had changed the whole form of government, he astonished the people by *resigning his power*, and leaving the forum as a private man. And he left it without any mark of detestation from the people, except from one young man, who followed him to some distance, using, against him, the most irritating and abusive language. Sylla, however, merely replied, “This young man will prevent any one, hereafter, from voluntarily resigning so great a power as I have possessed.” And his observation was verified by the conduct of Julius Cæsar, who asserted that “Sylla had indicated great weakness in having thus resigned his power.”

If we could view the *conduct of Sylla* in a favourable light, we might, perhaps, say, that he had suffered himself to be intoxicated by success: that, having attained the highest pinnacle of human greatness, he had been mistaken in his notions both of security and of happiness; and that, consequently, he had made a bad use of his prosperity. But that reflection and experience, having convinced him of his error; and, finding that no one could be truly happy who endeavoured to make others miserable, he had returned to that station of life which was really most advantageous. And this notion might be partly confirmed by the moderation with which he conducted himself before the proscriptions and after his abdication. But, on the other hand, when we consider his vindictive spirit, his thirst of power, his avarice, his perfidy, and his wanton and delibe-

rate cruelty, we must conclude that he abdicated, not from magnanimity, but from uneasiness and perturbation of mind.

It may, perhaps, have been in a hope to relieve his mind from the weight of misery with which it was loaded, that he resolved to consecrate to Hercules a tenth part of the property he had acquired. But no relief to a bad conscience could reasonably be expected from an act like this. The consecration of a small portion of substance, obtained by incessant acts of injustice and oppression, can never have been acceptable to the deity. His mind was wholly unreformed.

On this occasion he made a sumptuous *entertainment* for the people. The whole populace are said to have been invited; and the profusion was such, that, for many successive days, a great quantity of provisions was thrown into the river. A few months afterwards, he entertained them with an exhibition of gladiators; and, during this exhibition, a beautiful female, named *Valeria*, who, but a few days before, had been divorced from her husband, made herself known to Sylla, and was afterwards married to him. The occurrence was a very remarkable one. The young lady, who is described to have been of unblemished reputation, placed herself near him, and, resting her hand gently upon his shoulder, took a little of the knap from off his robe, and then returned to her seat. Sylla was much surprised at the familiarity, and the lady told him, "that it was not from disrespect she had done this, but because she was desirous to partake in his good fortune." He was pleased with the answer, and, having ascertained that she was respectably connected, married her.

Sylla, however, still continued to spend much of his time with persons of the most dissipated character; gave, to such persons, the most extravagant banquets; and often sate drinking, whole days, with

actors, musicians, and buffoons. And, notwithstanding the cruelty of his disposition, and the innumerable murders he had committed, he was suffered to live unmolested.

The horrible *disease* which terminated in his death, may, perhaps, and without any violation of Christian charity, be considered a divine visitation, for his almost unexampled wickedness. His dissipated life, (say the ancient writers,) occasioned such a corruption of his flesh, that his body became covered with vermin: persons were employed, both day and night, to cleanse him, but in vain. His clothing, his baths, his basins, and his food, were covered with them. He bathed many times a day, to cleanse himself, but to no purpose. The corruption increased so fast upon him, that it was found impossible, by any remedies, to overcome or even to check it.

Notwithstanding this wretched condition, an occurrence which took place a few days before his death, proved that he was resolved to continue his cruelty even to the last. The quæstor Granius had refused to pay a sum of money which he owed to the state. Sylla sent for him into his chamber, and had him strangled there. But the death of this man proved the more immediate cause of his own death; for, the violence with which he spoke, in giving the order, strained him so much, that he vomited a great quantity of blood and corrupted matter. He passed the night in extreme agony, and, on the ensuing morning, *expired*, at the age of sixty years.

His enemies were desirous to prevent his having the usual honour of a *public funeral*; but this was over-ruled by his friends; for, notwithstanding his detestable character, he had some adherents, who continued to show respect for him even after his death. He died at Cumæ; but his body was conveyed to Rome upon a rich bier, and clad in a triumphal robe. It was preceded by four-and-twenty

lictors carrying their fasces. The troops followed, with their eagles and colours; and a multitude of trumpets made the air resound with doleful notes. At Rome, the college of vestals, the high priests, the senate, the magistrates, the Roman knights, and an immense crowd of people, joined in the train, singing funeral hymns. The procession moved on to the forum, where an oration was pronounced over the body; and thence to the Campus Martius, where the funeral pile was erected. So great a quantity of spices were brought to be burned, that, besides as much as filled two hundred and ten large baskets, there were two full-length human figures, entirely formed of cinnamon and frankincense.

After the body was laid upon the funeral pile, a brisk wind arose, which fanned the flame, and occasioned it to be almost immediately consumed. A *monument* was erected to his memory, in the Campus Martius; and the epitaph is said to have been written by himself. It was as follows: "No friend ever did me so much good, nor any enemy so much harm, but I repaid him with interest."

Sylla wrote a series of *memoirs or commentaries* of his own life. These are mentioned by Plutarch, but they are not now extant.

The life and death of this extraordinary man, unite in affording a most impressive and instructive lesson. Though possessed of talents which might have claimed the admiration of the world, he so excessively abused them, that, neither poverty in his youth, nor satiety in his latest years, could set any bounds to his licentiousness. To this, after the innumerable acts of cruelty which he committed to attain pre-eminence in the state, he is supposed to have, at last, wholly surrendered himself, in order to silence all remorse of conscience; and this is stated, by some writers, to have been the more immediate cause of the horrible disease which terminated his life.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Sallust, Paterculus, and Appian.*

QUINTUS CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

A Roman consul and general, who obtained the surname of "Numidicus," in consequence of his successes in the Numidian war, against Jugurtha; was supplanted by Marius, and, at his instigation, banished from Rome; but was subsequently recalled, and highly esteemed for his integrity and disinterested conduct.

OF the *early life* of Metellus little is known. He is described to have been one of the most eminent of the Roman orators, during the time of Scipio, Lælius, and the Gracchi; and, with Marcus Junius Silanus, was elected *consul*, in the year of the city 644.

It is recorded, to his honour, that, at a time when many of the Roman nobility and senate had shown themselves the meanest slaves of avarice, his actions could, in no respect, be influenced by wealth. The *government* was in the hands of men, whose cruelty, avarice, and oppression, were exceeded only by their pride; and who did not hesitate to apply whatever had before been held sacred, in piety, honour, or friendship, to the basest and most mercenary purposes. They had no longer a rival to dread, in Carthage; and virtue had declined, not gradually, but rapidly, and vice alone seemed to flourish. It was in the midst of this contagion, that Metellus had the merit of preserving his integrity.

On being elected to the *consulate*, it fell to his lot to proceed into *Africa*, for the purpose of conducting the war which had been commenced against Jugurtha. But as Rome was corrupted, so also were the Roman armies. The officers had, in numerous instances, been guilty of bribery; and the soldiers were undisciplined and under no control. Indolence, luxury, and licentiousness, almost every where prevailed among the troops. After his arrival in *Africa*, Metellus, by a well-regulated conjunction of

rigour and moderation, and without inflicting any capital punishment, restored the army to a state of correct discipline.

In *Numidia* he carried on, with diligence and activity, that war, which was, perhaps, the most just and honourable that the Romans had ever been employed in. *Jugurtha*, informed of the improved state of the army, and despairing of success, against such an officer as Metellus, sent messengers to state that he was ready to capitulate, on condition only that the lives of himself and his children should be spared. But Metellus, incapable of being amused from his purposes with mere proposals of peace; well knowing the perfidy of the Numidians, and also knowing that no people were more susceptible of corruption than they, proved the sincerity of these messengers, by himself prevailing with them, under large promises, to declare that they would deliver up *Jugurtha* to him: at the same time ordering them to state to *Jugurtha*, that he, Metellus, assented to his wish, and was ready to receive his capitulation.

This was a procedure which, in common life, would be considered extremely dishonourable. But it was one of those stratagems, in war, which were frequently practised by the ancients; and the event proved that Metellus and *Jugurtha* were each trying to outwit the other.

Metellus, having received no further communications from his enemies, marched into the interior of the country, with his army ready for action. Here was no appearance whatever of war. The officers of *Jugurtha* came out, from the towns, to meet him, and to furnish his troops with corn and other provisions. Notwithstanding this peaceable aspect, Metellus proceeded with the utmost caution: his army was always ready. *Jugurtha*, he knew to be a man of so much subtility, that it was difficult to say whether he was to be feared as most dangerous, when he was absent, or when he was present.

This prince, having found himself unable to obtain any advantage by negotiation, determined to risk the event of a battle. He attacked the Roman army, and, at first, obtained some advantage; but he was finally defeated, and obliged to retire into a woody and strong part of the country, where he was protected from attack, and where he endeavoured to recruit his forces.

Metellus now resolved to march into the richest parts of Numidia. Here he acted in a manner which, though authorized by the inhuman practices of those times, would be infamous in a Christian commander. He not only ravaged the whole country through which he passed, and took numerous towns and castles that were slightly fortified, but he ordered all the males that were of age to bear arms, to be slain; and granted unrestrained permission to his soldiers, to plunder the houses of the inhabitants. These proceedings occasioned more alarm to Jugurtha, than even the result of his late disastrous contest; and, when information, concerning them, was conveyed to Rome, the senate and the people expressed great approbation, not merely of the success of Metellus, but of the manner in which he had conducted the war.

This general, however, was afterwards much harassed by Jugurtha. The crafty Numidian cut off his resources, attacked his outposts, and impeded his marches, but could not be brought to hazard a general engagement. In the hope of being able to effect this, Metellus laid siege to a city called *Zama*; but Jugurtha did not fall into the snare. Without risking a battle, he so much annoyed the besiegers, by frequent skirmishes, that Metellus was, at last, obliged to retire, unsuccessful, into winter quarters.

Here he, once again, acted in a manner which does not confer honour upon his memory. Availing himself of the same arts which the Numidian prince had often, and successfully, practised against other

commanders, Metellus, by specious promises, bribed Bomilcar, Jugurtha's most intimate confidant, to persuade his master to surrender himself to the Romans. This plan, in part, succeeded. Jugurtha was induced to inform Metellus that he would do so; and, as a security for the performance of his promise, he sent, to the Roman camp, two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, all his elephants, all the Roman deserters, and a great quantity of horses and arms. But he repented of the engagement he had made; and, though thus greatly reduced in power, he resolved once more to resort to arms.

After the termination of his consulship, Metellus was continued in the command, as *proconsul*; and *Caius Marius*, one of his lieutenant-generals, at this time, a young officer of great ambition, had long and earnestly importuned that he might be permitted to return to Rome, for the purpose of becoming a candidate for the consulship. This permission being at last obtained, he left the army, and hastened to Italy. In former times, the noble descent of a candidate for this office had been an advantage to him, but now, such a descent exposed him to the hatred of the people. The friends of Metellus proposed him as the opponent of Marius; but they had little chance of success; for the low birth of the latter alone obtained for him a preponderance in the popular favour. Faction and party-rage operated much more with regard both to Marius and Metellus, than their own qualification for the office. Some of the factious magistrates inflamed the popular indignation by falsely charging Metellus with capital crimes; and extolling the character and conduct of Marius, as entitled to unreserved approbation. The contests between the patricians and plebeians occasioned a serious commotion in the state; but the power of the populace prevailed, and the consulship was conferred on Marius.

During these contentions in Rome, a dreadful conflict took place in Africa, between the armies of Jugurtha and Metellus, in which the latter took nearly all the Numidian standards and arms, but only a small number of prisoners; for, after a defeat, the Numidian soldiers, in making their escape, generally threw down their weapons, that they might flee with greater rapidity. After some further reverses, Jugurtha hastened, with a small retinue, through vast and almost impenetrable deserts, into *Getulia*, a country inhabited by a wild and uncivilized people, who, at this time, were unacquainted with even the Roman name; and here formed an alliance with Bocchus, the king of the country.

Metellus had pitched his camp near the town of *Cirta*, and was waiting an attack of their united forces, when he received letters from Rome, informing him that the province of Numidia had been assigned to *Marius*. The intelligence of this appointment was excessively mortifying to him. His indignation was so great, that he could neither refrain from tears nor govern his tongue. He conceived that he had brought the war so nearly to a conclusion, that there remained little more to be done than to take the person of Jugurtha; and *Marius* would thus snatch from him all the merit of his labours.

Sallust, speaking of Metellus, says that whatever could be done in Numidia, was done by him: that his progress could be impeded by no artifice, nor by any effort of the enemy: and that every obstacle, arising from the nature of the country, to which others had submitted, he surmounted. *Paterculus* asserts that he was second to no general of his time. But it was not alone by his victories over Jugurtha, that Metellus signalized himself. He acquired a still higher glory, by continuing, in the field, as inaccessible to bribes, as he had before been in the senate. Thus far we may, with justice, speak fa-

vourably of his character. But, alas! it was far from being complete. Some parts of it seem to have been sadly tainted with the degeneracy of the times. Although Metellus would himself receive no bribe, he, most inconsistently, endeavoured to corrupt others. He seems also to have been too proud of his rank, too jealous of Marius, and too much vexed at the promotion of his rival. Such were the defects observable in his character, at this period of his life; but it is satisfactory to know, that some of them were reformed in his later years.

When Marius arrived at the Roman camp, the command of the army was delivered to him by the lieutenant-general, Publius Rutilius; for Metellus had, some days before, set out on his return to Italy. On his arrival in *Rome*, his reception was much more favourable than he had expected. His actions were spoken of in the senate with applause. Even the plebeians crowded around him, to congratulate him on his success; and he was honoured with a public triumph, and with the surname of "*Numidicus*."

The very circumstance of Metellus, in the midst of his victories, being supplanted by Marius, seems to have been advantageous to his moral *character*. To witness the final triumph of his rival over Jugurtha, and over those far more formidable enemies of his country, the Teutones and Cimbri; to see Marius, whom he had endeavoured to prevent from acquiring his first consulship, crowned with that honour for several successive years: these must have been severe, and very humiliating trials to Metellus, but they were extremely beneficial to him. If, after such humiliations, we compare him with Marius, we shall have an instructive example, to convince us that "the fruits of adversity are often infinitely more wholesome than those of prosperity."

In fact, after he had been supplanted by Marius, Metellus seems to have acquired a much higher de-

gree of virtue, and a more perfect sense of true glory, than he had ever before possessed. He is represented by historians, as one of the most splendid characters then in Rome. Whereas, on the contrary, Marius, after his return from Numidia, influenced by a restless and insatiable ambition, became a vicious and dreadful example of the consequences of lawless impunity.

He had held the consulship for five successive years, and the state was now harassed by incessant commotions, between the senate and the people. The latter, divided into numerous factions, sold their votes to the highest bidders; and all the elections were decided by bribery. The tribune Saturninus obtained a revival of the *Agrarian law*, and, in conjunction with Marius, he inserted a clause which required "that the senate, in full assembly, should swear to conform to whatever might be decreed by the people;" and that all who resisted the oath, should suffer the penalty of banishment. The whole senate, except one, degraded themselves by submitting to the oath: only one of them supported the dignity of his senatorial character, and that one was Metellus. His friends entreated him not to throw himself into the power of his enemies by refusing; but he would not shrink from the dignity of his resolution. He chose to suffer whatever punishment they might inflict, rather than be guilty of so unworthy an action. In the presence of the assembled senate and people, he declared his determination to resist the oath; and he supported his determination by these memorable words: "To do ill is at all times shameful: to do well, when it may be done with safety, is not uncommon: but to do well, in the face of danger, this is the true characteristic of a really great and good man."

Seeing him thus resolute, his friends proposed to excite, if possible, an opposition to Marius and Saturninus, which might terminate in their downfall,

and his consequent liberation from the oath; but he would not listen to their proposal. He would, on no account, consent that, for him, the tranquillity of the nation should be disturbed. "Rather than this should be the case, (he said,) he would willingly submit to all the inconveniences of banishment; for he much more valued the peace of his country, than a residence in it." The populace, however, were so much enraged at his refusal, that they attempted to kill him, and would probably have done so, had not many of the respectable citizens united in his defence. Notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent it, the popular commotion was so great, that, for some time, confusion and slaughter seemed inevitable. To prevent this, he endeavoured to sooth the exasperated minds of those who had given him their support; and voluntarily withdrew himself into exile. "Affairs (said he) will change, and I shall be recalled; or, if they continue, it is more desirable for me to be absent than present." "The safety of his country (observes Cicero, in one of his orations) was dearer to him than the sight of it; and he chose rather to depart from the city, than from his opinion."

He retired to the island of *Rhodes*; and, in all the places through which he passed, he was received with admiration and applause. The island, which he had thus selected as the place of his retirement, was blessed with all the beauties and all the bounties of nature. It was, at this time, the seat of commerce, of science, and of art; and was the residence of many wise and good men. During his continuance in this island, Metellus chiefly applied himself to the study of moral philosophy. This not only tended to amuse and shorten the tedious days of banishment; but was useful, in a more important degree, by enlarging and exalting his mind. Thus occupied, he could pity even the prosperity of those

señitious and wicked men, by whom he had been driven into exile.

After the departure of Metellus from Rome, some of his opponents quarrelled among themselves, and their commotion at length broke out into open rebellion. This ended in a restoration to power, of the friends of Metellus; a repeal of all the acts that had been passed during the tribunate of Saturninus, and the *recall of Metellus*. Thus, after having, with so much glory, struggled through two years of adversity, he was called to the different, and perhaps not less difficult trial of prosperity. But, after his return, he preserved the same even tenour of mind and of conduct, as he had done in exile. On comparing this equanimity with his conduct whilst in Numidia, it is impossible not to perceive that, by his adversity and his philosophical studies, his mind had been greatly improved.

On his *return to Rome*, he was met, at the gate of the city, by the senate and the people. But the most happy partaker in the joy of his return, was his *son*. This excellent young man, although he was then at a period of life, when he might have been looking towards the acquisition of public honour for himself, had incessantly laboured to effect the restoration of his father. During the whole period of his father's banishment, he had worn the deepest mourning; and he had earnestly and unremittingly employed himself in soliciting the votes of the people for his recall. And the tenderness and the earnestness with which he urged his solicitations, at length prevailed over the power and the malice of Marius. The young Metellus had himself the honour of recalling his beloved parent from banishment; and he thence deservedly acquired the appellation of *Metellus Pius*. Thus did the invincible affection of a son, towards his parent in adversity, gain a title far more glorious, and more truly admirable, than that

which any victory, or the conquest of any country, ever conferred.

At the ensuing consular election, the people exhibited their esteem for Metellus, by accepting his recommendation to that office, of a person of his own name and family; but from this period no event of importance, concerning him, seems to have been recorded.

Authorities.—*Sallust, Plutarch's life of Marius, Paternulus, and Hooke's Roman History.*

QUINTUS SERTORIUS.

A Roman general, who obtained great celebrity during the wars in Spain; and who, afterwards, in the quarrels betwixt the consuls Cinna and Octavius, took part with the former; but, on the return of Sylla, was compelled to retire into Spain, where, for many years, he opposed the whole power of the Romans, and where, at last, he was assassinated, in the year 681 of the city, and 73 years before the birth of Christ.

PLUTARCH asserts, respecting this eminent Roman, that Fortune was always more cruel to him than even his most inveterate enemies; yet, that he showed himself equal to Metellus in experience, to Pompey in Courage, and to Sylla in victories; nay, that, even in power, he was a match for the whole Roman people, at a time when he was exiled from his country and a sojourner among barbarians.

He was *born* at Nursia, a town in the country of the Sabines; and his *father*, who was a man of considerable respectability, died when Sertorius was a child. His mother, however, whom he tenderly loved, gave him a liberal *education*. Like most

other Roman youths, in the higher ranks of life, he was instructed in such qualifications as would fit him for either the senate or the camp; but his inclination led him to the latter.

His first campaign was, with the Roman army, *under Marius*, when acting against the Teutones and Cimbri. During one of the battles, in which the Romans were defeated, Sertorius had his horse killed under him, and received many wounds. Yet, though armed with a breast-plate and a shield, he swam over the Rhine and effected his escape.

In a second encounter, the Romans were so dreadfully alarmed by the numbers and the menaces of their enemy, that it was extremely difficult to prevail with any man to keep his post or to obey his general. Marius had, at that time, the command, and Sertorius (as was not then unusual with men of character and honour) offered his services, to visit the enemy's ranks as a *spy*, for the purpose of obtaining some account of their numbers and situation. Having a sufficient knowledge of the Gaulish language, to enable him to escape detection, he assumed the dress of a Gaul, and mingled with the barbarians. As soon as he had ascertained such particulars relative to the state of the enemy as were requisite, he returned and communicated them to Marius; and, in recompence for his services, he received the established rewards of valour. After this, through the whole war, he gave such proofs of courage and capacity, as raised him to distinction, and gained him the entire confidence of his general.

In a subsequent war, Sertorius was employed, in *Spain*, as a legionary tribune under Didius. Here, whilst in winter quarters, the soldiers, being in a luxuriant country, and having little to employ their time, became disorderly and undisciplined. This state of the army was soon known to the enemy, who resolved to attack the *town of Castulo*, in which a considerable number of the Romans were quartered.

They did so, and put many of them to the sword; but neglected to place a guard near the gate at which they entered. Sertorius, perceiving this, collected a party of the men who had fled; and, marching them round the town, entered by the same gate, secured the town, and slew a great number of the assailants. This was not all. He stripped the bodies, and, having clothed his own men in the garments of the slain, he marched, in that disguise, to the city of the *Gyriscenians*, from which the enemy had come. The inhabitants, deceived by the well-known suits of armour, opened their gates and sallied forth, with the expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens, in all the joy of success. The consequence was, that many of them were cut to pieces at the gates, and the rest surrendered themselves and were sold as slaves.

Sertorius had not yet attained the rank of a *general*. After this honour had been conferred upon him, his personal bravery was conspicuous on every occasion, where it could be exerted. He *lost one of his eyes* in battle; and this loss he afterwards made a subject of exultation. “ Few soldiers (he used to say) are able to carry always with them the badges of their valour; but the indication of my bravery is, at all times, with me; for those who see my misfortune, behold, at the same time, the evidence of my courage.”

The *Roman populace* treated him with so much respect, that, whenever he entered the public places, they received him with acclamations and applause; an honour which officers, distinguished for their age and achievements, were not always able to obtain. Yet, when he offered himself a candidate for the office of tribune, he was rejected, through the opposition that was made against him, by the faction of Sylla.

In the year of the city 666, an irreconcilable quarrel took place *betwixt the two consuls, Cinna and*

Octavius; the former of whom was devoted to the popular faction, and the latter to the senate. Sertorius, driven by disappointments and resentment into the democratic party, was induced to join Cinna; and, such was then the fluctuating and unhappy state of the Roman government, that a tremendous conflict took place in the forum, betwixt the adherents of the two parties. In this conflict, Cinna and Sertorius lost nearly ten thousand men. Marius, having been informed that the democratic faction was again in force, hastened from Africa to Italy; and, notwithstanding the losses which had been sustained by Cinna, he offered his services to that general. The prudence and moderation of Sertorius objected to the admission of a man of Marius's character into the camp: his objections, however, were overruled, and Marius was appointed to command the army. Having obtained a considerable reinforcement of troops, he led them towards Rome. Metellus and Octavius, generals of the senatorial party, in vain opposed him: they were abandoned by their men, and Marius entered the city. Here he caused multitudes of those who had not saved themselves by flight, to be put to death, without even the form of a trial, and their property to be confiscated. His chief cruelties were directed against the greatest and most respectable characters of the senate. The city became a dismal scene of robbery, murder, and every species of enormity. Sertorius severely reproached the authors of these horrid crimes, but was unable to prevent them. Marius caused himself to be made consul, and suffered his banditti to continue their rapine and massacres. His tyranny, however, was not of long continuance, for death, soon afterwards, terminated his barbarities.

Sylla returned to Italy, to revenge the injuries that had been suffered by his friends; and Sertorius, disgusted with the management of the public affairs, and commiserating the sufferings of the people,

hastened into *Spain*; hoping that he might be able to secure, to himself, the government of that country, and thus have a place of safety, for the retreat of his friends.

On his arrival at the *Spanish mountains*, the inhabitants insisted that he should pay a toll for permission to cross them. His attendants were indignant that a Roman officer should be required to pay toll to barbarians. But Sertorius was too wise a man to consider himself disgraced by a compliance with the demand; and he satisfied the scruples of his officers, by saying that, "time was what he had to pay for, and that it was so valuable to him, that he must not refuse." He consequently paid the demand, and proceeded into *Spain*, without the loss of a moment. The Spaniards, having suffered much from the oppression and cruelty, the avarice and rapacity of former rulers, were not favourably disposed towards any Roman governor. To overcome their aversion, Sertorius endeavoured to gain the affection of the principal inhabitants, by an obliging and affable conduct; and, to obtain their favour, he lowered considerably their taxes: but he chiefly obtained popularity, by passing the winter in tents, and thus relieving them from the burden and expence of providing quarters for the Roman soldiers. Sertorius did not, however, depend on the attachment only of the Spaniards: he adopted every means of keeping them in awe of the Roman power, which could be suggested to the mind of an experienced commander.

When he was informed that Sylla had obtained possession of Rome, he was convinced that an army would soon be sent to dispossess him of his government. He, therefore, without delay, dispatched an officer, with six thousand men, to fortify and defend the roads through the Pyrenees. The troops of Sylla arrived, under the command of Caius Annius. For a while they were bravely resisted; but the officer

of Sertorius having been assassinated, they were suffered to pass. Sertorius, now unable to make any effectual resistance, retired, with about three thousand men, to *New Carthage*, a port on the south-eastern coast of Spain. He thence embarked, with several vessels, for *Africa*. But, not being permitted to land, he accompanied the vessels of some Cilician pirates, to the island of *Pityusa*, now called *Ivica*.

Annius approached the island with a numerous fleet, and with a body of about five thousand troops. Though greatly inferior in force, Sertorius ventured to engage him; but a tremendous storm arose, which drove many of his ships on shore. Sertorius was, himself, prevented, by the storm, from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing: he was, consequently, tossed about, upon the waves, for ten days. At length the wind abated, and, his crew being nearly exhausted by hunger, he landed, on a small island, to obtain water and provisions, but without success. No alternative was left but to sail to a part of Spain unoccupied by the enemy. He did so, and obtained the relief that he sought. Here he found some mariners who had recently come from the *Fortunate isles*; (*Canary islands*;) and so much was he delighted with the description they gave of the climate, the soil, and productions of these islands, that he suggested to his companions a project of retiring thither, to live in tranquillity, equally removed from the evils of tyranny and of war.

This project he might, perhaps, have put into execution, had not a war broken out in *Mauritania*, which altogether changed his plans. Sylla was desirous of restoring *Ascalis*, the son of *Iphtha*, to the throne of that country, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants; and Sertorius resolved to sail thither, for the purpose of assisting the people. His assistance was peculiarly acceptable to them, for he de-

feated the troops of Ascalis in a pitched battle, and afterwards besieged him in the place of his retreat. Sylla sent a considerable force to the relief of his ally; but this, Sertorius also defeated; and, after other important successes, he put the inhabitants in possession of their cities, and replaced the government in their hands.

The character of Sertorius, as an able and experienced officer, was now so well established, that he received an invitation from the *Lusitanians*, or, Western Spaniards, to take the command of their troops against the forces of Sylla. He accepted the invitation, and, having sailed thither, was invested with almost supreme power. His first procedure was to strengthen the army, and to reduce to submission the neighbouring provinces of Spain. To great reputation for clemency of conduct and vigour in all his proceedings, Sertorius added no inconsiderable degree of artifice. He imposed upon the minds of this ignorant people, and rendered them subservient to his wishes, by persuading them that he had supernatural means of information, by a *tame deer*, which he kept in his camp.

With two thousand six hundred men, whom he had brought from Africa, and four thousand seven hundred Lusitanians, he carried on a war against four Roman generals, and more than one hundred and twenty thousand troops; and was successful in many engagements, both by sea and by land. Even *Metellus Pius*, the son of Metellus Numidicus, a general of great eminence and reputation, was so harassed by this inferior force, that he knew not how to act. He had had no experience in the climbing of mountains, nor any capacity to vie, in flight and pursuit, with men who were as swift as the wind; nor could his troops bear hunger, eat their food raw, nor lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Metellus also was advanced in years; and Sertorius was in the vigour of his age,

accustomed to bear fatigue, to make long and harassing marches, to pass many successive nights without sleep, and to subsist on the meanest and most unpalatable of diet. During his leisure, Sertorius had occupied much of his time in hunting and traversing the mountains, in search of game. By this means he had acquired an accurate knowledge of many passes amongst the rocks, which were wholly unknown to the troops of Metellus. This enabled him, whenever he was in difficulty, to escape, in safety, from the pursuit of his enemies, and to take possession of places which were almost unassailable.

Metellus not being able to come to any regular action, suffered all the inconveniences of a defeat; and Sertorius gained as many advantages by retreating, as he could have done by pursuing. If the Romans began to march, Sertorius hastened after them, to impede their progress: if they continued in their camps, he galled them in such manner, that they were obliged to quit their post: if they invested a town, he soon made his appearance; and, by cutting off their supplies, he besieged, as it were, the besiegers.

It appeared to Metellus that he might be able to distress Sertorius, if he could reduce to submission the city of *Langobriga*, the inhabitants of which had been of great service to his opponent. This he believed he should be able to effect by cutting off their supply of water. He therefore advanced to the walls, and, having made himself master of the springs, concluded that they would be obliged to capitulate within two days. Sertorius, to relieve the distress of his allies, procured two thousand skins, filled them with water, and promised a considerable reward to a party of Spaniards and Moors, if they should succeed in conveying them into the town. These men proceeded along the mountains, executed their commission, and brought safely away from the town, a great number

of persons who would have been useless in its defence. Metellus, when informed of this manœuvre, was excessively distressed; and, his provisions beginning to fail, he was obliged to detach one of his generals, with six thousand men, to collect fresh supplies. These Sertorius attacked and totally routed; and Metellus, amidst the scoffs and ridicule of the Spaniards, was compelled to retire.

Being now without any immediate opponent, Sertorius obtained great popularity, among the Spaniards, by arming them like the Romans, teaching them to keep their ranks and obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a rude and disorderly manner, as they had hitherto done, they were now enabled, regularly and systematically, to defend themselves against their enemies. But his greatest effort of policy was to collect, into one city, the children of the nobility, from all the adjacent districts. By means of able and accomplished masters, he caused these to be instructed in Greek and Roman literature. This procedure had the appearance only of anxiety for their education, that the children might be prepared for becoming citizens of Rome, and be qualified for important commissions. But, being wholly in his power, they were, in fact, thus rendered so many hostages, for the good conduct of their parents. The latter, in the mean while, were delighted to see their sons, clad in gowns bordered with purple, walking in state to the schools: and this without any expence to them, for Sertorius took upon himself the whole charge of the establishment. He even superintended the proceedings in the schools, made enquiry into the improvement of the children, and distributed rewards to those who were most deserving.

It was customary, in Spain, when a general died in battle, for all those who fought near his person, to die with him; and this manner of devoting them-

selves to death, was called "*a libation.*" Sertorius was always attended by a great number of Spaniards, who had laid themselves under this obligation. On one occasion, when he was defeated near one of his towns, the enemy pressed so closely upon him, that his men, in order to save him, exposed themselves to the utmost danger. They raised him from the ground, and forwarded him upon their shoulders, till he was safely lodged within the walls; and, as soon as they had ascertained that he was safe, they dispersed, for the purpose of effecting their own escape.

By repeated successes, and by the addition of many Roman troops, which had joined him, at different times, Sertorius was at length at the head of a powerful force. But most of his men were so impetuous, and so impatient of controul, that he had the utmost difficulty in commanding them. Having, to no purpose, endeavoured to do this, by mild and persuasive means, he resolved to let them learn, by experience, the consequences that are attendant on irregularity of conduct. They had so incessantly importuned him, to engage with the Roman army, that he, at last, suffered them to do so; and they were so severely beaten, that, had he not, by a body of reserve, rescued them from destruction, few would have returned to the camp, to relate the particulars of their disaster.

The consequence of this defeat was excessive despondency; and, to arouse them from this, Sertorius adopted a very singular expedient. A few days after the engagement, he assembled his troops, in the field, and produced before them two horses, the one old and feeble, and the other young and powerful. By the weak horse stood a robust and able-bodied man; and, by the strong horse, a man of diminutive stature and contemptible appearance. On a signal given, the strong man began to pull, with all his might, at the tail of the weak horse; and the

little man to pluck off, one by one, the hairs from the tail of the great horse. The former tugged, for a long time, and with all his strength, but to no purpose; but the latter, without difficulty, soon stripped all the hair from the tail. Sertorius then said: "You see, my fellow-soldiers, how much superior are the effects of perseverance, to those of force; and that, in a state of union, there are many things invincible, which, when separated, may gradually be overcome. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By perseverance, Time attacks and destroys the strongest things. Time is the best ally of those who have the discernment to use properly the opportunities which he presents, and he is the worst enemy to those, who rush into action without his aid."

An extraordinary contrivance which Sertorius adopted to subdue the *Charcitani*, excited, among the Spaniards, as much admiration as his military exploits. The *Charcitani* resided, not in cities nor villages, but in dens and caverns, formed into the side of a lofty hill. The soil of the whole surrounding country was so light and crumbling, that it yielded to the least pressure of the foot, and, when touched, rose into the air, like ashes or unslaked lime. The inhabitants of these caverns, whenever they were apprehensive of danger, retired into them, and considered themselves safe from attack. After one of his skirmishes with the troops of Metellus, Sertorius encamped his men beneath this hill. The savage inhabitants of the caverns, imagining that he had retired thither after a defeat, offered him many insults. Provoked at their conduct, he mounted his horse, to reconnoitre the place; but, as he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost despaired of being able to take it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed that the wind blew the dust, in great quantities, towards the mouth of the caverns; and, on enquiring among

the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, he was informed that the wind, at a certain time of the day, usually blew in the same direction. He further learned that, at this season of the year, in consequence of the melting of the ice from the mountains, it sometimes blew with great violence. On this information, Sertorius ordered his soldiers immediately to collect vast quantities of the dry and crumbling earth, so as to raise a considerable mount, opposite to the hill. The Charcitani, imagining that he intended to storm their caverns from the mount, laughed at his proceedings. The soldiers, however, continued their work till night. At sun-rise, the next morning, a breeze sprung up, which removed the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke; and, as the sun rose higher, the breeze became so violent as to cover the whole side of the hill with dust. To operate with greater effect, the soldiers stirred up the heap, and some of them galloped their horses up and down it. Tremendous clouds of dust were carried into the caves; and these, having no opening except the entrance, it was with difficulty that the inhabitants could either see or breathe. Their provisions were covered, and every vessel and utensil became filled. In wretchedness which is scarcely capable of description, they held out for two days; and, on the third day, they submitted themselves to the mercy of their enemy. By this stratagem Sertorius did not gain much strength, but his renown was increased, from the circumstance of his having subdued, by policy, those whom he would, in vain, have attempted to overcome by force.

After the death of Sylla, and in consequence of the old age and inactivity of Metellus, *Pompey* was appointed to the command in Spain. No sooner had he passed the Pyrenees, than Sertorius advanced to meet him, and every art of generalship was, on both sides, employed, in contending for superiority;

yet, both in attack and in defence, Sertorius appears, in almost every instance, to have had the advantage.

His skill was remarkably exhibited, in the *siege of Lauron*, a strongly-fortified city near the eastern coast of Spain. It was garrisoned by Roman troops, and, Sertorius having besieged it, Pompey marched, with his whole army, to its relief. Near the walls was a hill from which the city could be greatly annoyed; and Pompey had endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent Sertorius from obtaining possession of it. Defeated in this project, he posted his army betwixt the hill and the town, and, congratulating himself on his success, he sent a message to the Lauronites, stating "that they might be perfectly at ease; and might quietly sit upon their walls, whilst they saw him besiege Sertorius upon the hill." When that general was informed of the message of Pompey, he laughed, and said: "I will teach this scholar of Sylla, (for so in ridicule he was accustomed to call him,) that a general ought to look behind him, rather than before him." At the same time he exhibited, to the inhabitants of the city, a body of six thousand men, in the camp which he had quitted. These he had left for the express purpose of attacking Pompey in the rear, when he should approach the hill. Pompey did not discover the manœuvre of Sertorius, till it was too late; and, when he had discovered it, he did not dare to begin the attack, lest he should be surrounded. The consequence was, that he was obliged to act only on the defensive, and see the city lost; for the people, despairing of assistance, surrendered it to Sertorius.

During the course of the war, Sertorius received some checks; but all these were in skirmishes with detachments of his army; for, wherever he acted in person, he was invincible. And so great was his skill in rectifying the errors both of himself and his officers, that he obtained more applause from this

only, than his adversaries obtained in their most brilliant success.

In the *battle of Sucro** the skill of Sertorius was signally conspicuous. He had been expecting an attack from the united forces of Pompey and Metellus; but Pompey, desirous of appropriating to himself the whole merit of the victory, resolved to commence the attack, near the banks of the Sucro, before Metellus could join him. This was precisely what Sertorius wished. He was, however, in some degree, deceived; for he found that the wing of the army which was opposed to him was not commanded by Pompey, but by Afranius, one of his lieutenants, and that Pompey commanded the other wing. The attention of Sertorius was, therefore, divided. He hastened to oppose Pompey, and he so completely defeated him, that it was with difficulty he could effect his escape. Afranius, however, in the absence of Sertorius, overthrew all before him. Sertorius returned, rallied his men, opposed Afranius in person, recovered all his losses, and was preparing to enter into a final encounter, when the approach of Metellus was observed. He was then obliged to draw off his troops, but he did it with an air of gaiety, saying: "If the old woman had not been here, I would have flogged the boy well."

In a subsequent tremendous conflict on the *plains of Saguntum*, Metellus was severely wounded; but Sertorius was defeated, and obliged to retreat. This, however, was only a partial reverse, for he, soon afterwards, recovered his strength, and compelled the Roman armies to separate. Pompey became so extremely distressed from want of money to carry on the war, that he informed the senate, he should soon leave the country, and return to Italy, if they did not supply him; and many persons were

* *Sucro* was a river of Valentia, the same which is now called the *Xucar*.

of opinion that Sertorius would be in Italy before him. So great was the dread which Metellus had of Sertorius, that he issued a proclamation, offering a reward of an hundred talents of silver, and twenty thousand acres of land, to any Roman who should take him.

In his greatest misfortunes, Sertorius never departed from his dignity, nor did he ever lose his confidence in his own talents and resources. On the other hand, in the midst of his victories, to show that he was not, in heart, an enemy to his country, he offered, both to Metellus and Pompey, to lay down his arms, on condition that he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He asserted that he would rather be the meanest citizen in Rome, than command all the other nations of the earth, and be an exile from his native land.

His anxiety to return to his country is said to have been occasioned chiefly by extreme *attachment to his mother*. The whole care of his education had devolved upon her. She still retained his most ardent affections; and these now received a severe shock. He received information of her death; and, after the melancholy tidings were communicated to him, he gave himself up to the most alarming grief. For seven days he would not be seen by even his most intimate friends. At last the generals beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground, for the purpose of showing himself to the soldiers, and again conducting the affairs of his army. From this, and from other similar traits of character, many persons were inclined to consider Sertorius a man of naturally pacific disposition; and that, if he had not been goaded by his enemies, into opposition, he would have become one of the most faithful and most meritorious of the Roman citizens.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, in Asia Minor, sent ambassadors to him, in Spain, offering an alliance,

and a supply of money and ships of war, on condition that Sertorius, in return, would aid in establishing his claim to certain parts of Asia, which, after a recent defeat, by the troops of Sylla, he had given up to the Romans.

Several Roman patricians, driven from their country by the tyrannical conduct of Sylla, had found refuge in the army of Sertorius. These he called the *senate*, and by their advice he acted, in most of his proceedings. On the present occasion, they were unanimous in opinion that he should accept the conditions offered by Mithridates. He, however, refused to do so, in consequence of Mithridates having claimed the government of a province, which had belonged to the Romans. In whatever circumstances he was placed, Sertorius declared that he would not compromise either the Roman character or the Roman interest. The ambassadors were sent back: Mithridates gave up his claim, and a treaty was finally signed, by which the latter agreed to send to Spain, money to the amount of five hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, and forty ships of war; and Sertorius, in return, was to supply Mithridates, with the aid of a general officer, and a considerable body of troops.

Sertorius had so long been in the habit of submitting his opinions, on all matters of general policy, to those Roman patricians who had sought his protection, that they, at length, began to consider their power equal to his; and to desire that he should be subject to their control. As they were unable to effect their purposes, in this respect, they industriously circulated rumours injurious to his fame and character; and sought, by every possible means, to ruin him in the opinion of the army. They also treated the Spaniards, his allies, with great injustice, inflicted heavy punishments upon them, and collected from them exorbitant subsidies, as if by his order. Hence, many of the Spanish cities began

to waver in their allegiance, and to excite disturbances. The persons sent to compose these disturbances, purposely made more enemies than they reconciled, and thus inflamed the rising spirit of disobedience. Sertorius, ignorant of the real cause of their enmity, departed from his former system of clemency; and, according to Plutarch, behaved with excessive cruelty towards the *children of the Spaniards in Oscar*, some of whom he ordered to be put to death, and others to be sold for slaves.

At the head of the conspirators, was a Roman senator named Perpenna. He and his partisans prepared letters to Sertorius, stating that an important victory had been gained by one of his officers, and that great numbers of the enemy had been slain. Pretending to rejoice at this success, they made a grand supper, and, after much entreaty, they prevailed with Sertorius to be their guest. The entertainments at which he had, hitherto, been present, had all been conducted with the strictest decorum; for he would not suffer, in his presence, the least indecency, either of action, or of conversation. But, on the present occasion, in the midst of the entertainment, the company pretended to quarrel, they entered into the most dissolute discourse, and pretended that drunkenness was the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done in a hope of irritating him to quarrel with them. But, either provoked with their disgusting conduct, or guessing at their designs, he changed his posture, and threw himself back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Perpenna then took a cup of wine, and, as he was drinking, he purposely let it fall from his hands. This was a signal for attack. One of the men, who sate nearest to Sertorius, struck him with his sword. Sertorius instantly turned, and strove to rise; but the same man threw himself upon his breast, and held down both his hands. Being thus unable to defend him-

self, the rest of the conspirators dispatched him, with many wounds.

The Spaniards, when informed of the death of Sertorius, for the most part, abandoned *Perpenna*, and surrendered themselves to Pompey and Metellus. *Perpenna* afterwards headed the troops of Sertorius, and ventured to give Pompey battle; but, being defeated and taken prisoner, himself, and nearly all his accomplices, were subsequently put to death.

Authorities.—*Plutarch* and *Appian*.

CATO THE YOUNGER,

Called also Cato of Utica: a Roman senator and general, remarkable for the inflexibility of his disposition, his habits of austerity and frugality, and his integrity in the administration of justice; he was at first the opponent, and afterwards the partisan of Pompey.

After the death of Pompey, he stabbed himself at Utica, in the year 709 of the city, and 45 years before the birth of Christ.

HAVING had the misfortune to lose his parents when very young, Cato was left to the care of Livius Drusus, his mother's brother; in whose house he was brought up, with his half brother Cæpio, and with three half sisters. From the earliest period at which his intellect began to dawn, he afforded indications of a resolute, firm, and inflexible temper. His voice, his countenance, and even his diversions, showed a firmness of character which neither irritation nor passion could move. He was slow of perception, but tenacious in his retention; for whatever he once comprehended, he seems never to have

forgotten, and he overcame every difficulty, by perseverance. The inflexibility of his character, perhaps, in some degree, retarded his progress in learning; for he could receive no information, without first fully examining it, and satisfying his mind respecting it. As a pupil, he was tractable and obedient. Whatever his preceptor required to be done, he willingly did; but he was always desirous of having a reason given for every thing that was set him.

When Cato was a *child*, not much more than four years old, the Roman allies, in different parts of Italy, demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, who had come to Rome, to solicit this right, lodged in the house of Drusus. He soon became familiar with the children; and, one day, said to them: "You, my good children, must desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation for this freedom." Cæpio answered with a smile of assent; but Cato not only refused to answer, but intimated, by his silence and his downcast looks, that he should object. Popedius, in joke, took him to the window, and threatened to throw him out, if he would not consent: he even held him out of the window, spoke in a harsh tone, and gave him several shakes, as if he was about to let him fall. But, finding the resolution of Cato to be immovable, he set him down, and whispered to his friends: "This child will be the glory of Italy: I am confident that, if he were now a man, we should not obtain a single vote from the people."

On another occasion, when one of the relatives of Cato invited him, with other children, to celebrate a birth-day, several of them assembled together to play. They formed a mimic court of justice, in which some of them were tried, for imaginary crimes; and those who were found guilty were afterwards conveyed to prison. One of them, after having been condemned, was shut up, in a

distant apartment, by a bigger boy, who acted as officer. The prisoner called out to Cato; who, as soon as he understood that he had been oppressively and unjustly condemned, ran to the door, and, pushing away all those who opposed him, carried off the child, and went home in great anger. This occurrence, trivial as it may now appear, is said to have aided, with other circumstances, to gain him great reputation.

On a particular occasion, Sylla chose to exhibit a kind of tournament of boys. For this purpose, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned to them two captains. One of these they readily accepted, because he was a near relation of Sylla; but the other, although he was a nephew of Pompey the Great, they rejected. Sylla asked whom they would have in his stead; they instantly and unanimously said, "Cato:" and the boy appointed by Sylla, readily yielded the honour, to one who was universally acknowledged superior to all the boys of his own age.

The abilities of Cato were so great, that Sylla was accustomed frequently to invite both him and Cæpio to his house, where he talked with great familiarity to them, which he did to very few. Cato was now in his fourteenth year; and Sylla's house appeared like a place of public execution, in consequence of the number of people who were tortured and put to death there. One day, seeing the heads of several great men brought in, and observing many of the persons present, to sigh deeply at these scenes of blood, Cato whispered, to Sarpedon, his preceptor: "Why does not some one kill that man?" meaning Sylla. "Because (replied Sarpedon) they fear him more than they hate him." "Give me then a sword, (said Cato,) that with it I may free my country from slavery." Sarpedon, seeing his countenance fired with rage, was terrified lest his youthful passion, though instigated by a just indig-

nation against the oppressor of his country, should lead him to some unjustifiable act, in seeking to rid it of so despicable a tyrant. From that time, therefore, he watched all the actions of the boy, with the closest attention.

As the feelings of Cato were acute, so his attachments were ardent. From his earliest childhood, his *affection for his brother* was remarked by all who knew him. This affection increased with his years; insomuch that, when he had attained the age of manhood, he was never happy unless Cæpio was with him. They, however, differed much both in character and in habits. Cæpio was effeminate, and was partial to the use of perfumes; Cato disliked effeminacy, and, through his whole life, and in all his habits, was plain and austere.

At a very early age, Cato became acquainted with *Antipater, the Stoic philosopher*; and, finding that the principles which were taught by him, corresponded with his own natural disposition, he cordially embraced them, and adhered so steadily to them, that he was afterwards considered one of the chief ornaments of that sect. He had a strong regard for virtue; and his notions of justice were so severe and inflexible, that he would not even listen to a possibility of its being influenced either by favour or compassion.

Like most other eminent Romans, he assiduously applied himself to the study of *oratory*, that he might be fitted for taking a leading part in the public assemblies. And, to strengthen his *constitution*, he accustomed himself to the most laborious exercise. He often went bare-headed, both in the hottest and the coldest weather; and he travelled, on foot, at all seasons of the year. In many instances, the friends who accompanied him were on horseback; and, in this case, he would join sometimes one and sometimes another, for the pleasure of their conversation, as he went along.

As the *manners of the Romans* were, at this time, extremely corrupt, and their luxurious mode both of clothing and living were, in the highest degree, blameable; Cato considered it requisite, in various particulars, to act contrary to the usual practice. The richest and brightest purple that could be obtained, was the fashionable colour for dress; and cloth of this colour was sold at a most extravagant price: he consequently chose always to wear black. It was his frequent practice to walk out, after dinner, bare-footed, and without his gown: not that he sought reputation from peculiarities like this, but that he was desirous of accustoming himself to be ashamed at nothing, except what was vicious. This principle may, however, be carried much too far; and, even in Cato, it appeared an extreme affectation of singularity.

During a considerable part of his life, when he went to either public or private *entertainments*, it was his practice to rise from table, after having drunk once; but, in process of time, he became fond of drinking, and, as it is said, would sometimes spend the whole night in conviviality. His friends accounted for this habit, by stating, that “the business of the state occupied his attention through the whole day; and that, in consequence, he was induced to indulge in the relaxation of spending his evenings in conversation with philosophers.”

The *paternal estate* of Cato, is said to have been valued at about one hundred and twenty talents, (twenty-seven thousand pounds sterling,) and he succeeded to another estate worth one hundred talents. The latter, he immediately converted into ready money, which he kept by him, that he might, at all times, have it in his power to serve such of his friends as needed assistance. Before the acquisition of this property, he had, in many instances, mortgaged his paternal estate to the public treasury,

for the purpose of supplying the wants of his friends.

He *married* a female named Attilia; but, on account of her misconduct, he obtained a divorce; and he subsequently married Marcia, the daughter of a person named Philippus, and a lady of exemplary virtue.

The first office which Cato obtained from the people, was that of *military tribune*; and, in this capacity, he was sent into *Macedon*, under Rubrius, the prætor there. He took with him fifteen slaves, two freed men, and four of his friends. The latter rode on horseback, but Cato always marched on foot; and he had so inured himself to the exercise of walking, that he had no difficulty in keeping pace even with the horsemen.

After he joined the army, he rendered the legion which he commanded a model of discipline, for he was equally respected and beloved by his soldiers. In his apparel, his diet, and manner of marching, he was more like a common soldier than an officer; but, in virtue, courage, and wisdom, he exceeded most commanders.

The *affection of Cato for his brother*, was strongly exhibited whilst he was with the army in Macedonia. He was informed, by letter, that Cæpio had been taken ill at Cœnus, in Thrace. It was now the middle of winter, the sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel could be procured. Cato, however, was not to be deterred from going to him. He sailed, from Thessalonica, in a small boat; and, at the utmost hazard of his life, he succeeded in reaching Cœnus. Not long after his arrival there, Cæpio expired; and Cato, forgetting his stoical principles, lamented the loss of his former associate, with expressions of the most poignant regret. He celebrated his funeral with great magnificence; and he erected a splendid monument to his memory. This was not indeed accordant with the simplicity of character, which he,

in general, professed; but it shows that, although he was firm and inflexible with regard to the solicitations of pleasure and of importunity, yet it was possible for him to be overcome by the emotions of tenderness and sensibility.

At the expiration of his tribuneship, Cato *left the army*; and his departure was marked by the most affectionate regret, both of the officers and men. Before he returned to Rome, he resolved to *travel* through a considerable part of Asia Minor, that he might witness the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and examine the military strength of the various provinces in that part of the globe.

As he travelled with only a small retinue, he often experienced an unfavourable reception; but, when he reached the *camp of Pompey*, who was then at Ephesus, carrying on a war against Mithridates, that general received him with the most distinguished marks of respect. After this, the cities through which he passed, seem to have vied with each other in the expression of their regard, and in the magnificence of the entertainments which they gave to him. Between *Dejotarus*, king of Galatia, and the father of Cato, there had subsisted a very ardent friendship. That monarch, therefore, had earnestly requested of Cato to visit him; he was also desirous to recommend his children to the protection of a man for whom he entertained a sincere regard. On Cato's arrival, Dejotarus offered him many valuable presents, and strongly urged him to accept them; but Cato refused them all. After he had proceeded a day's journey from the palace, he found, at *Pessinus*, a still greater number of presents, with a letter, from Dejotarus, entreating of him to receive them: "or (says he) if you will not yourself accept them, permit, at least, your friends to do so. They deserve some reward for their services, yet they cannot expect it out of your estate." Some of his companions were, visibly, much disappointed at his

refusal; yet Cato would not suffer them to be touched. "Corruption (said he to them) will never want a pretence; but you shall, at all times, freely share with me whatever I can obtain with justice and with honour."

After his return to *Rome*, Cato assiduously applied himself to study; and, though he was now in his thirty-second year, and was, consequently, of a sufficient age for the *quæstorship*, he would not solicit that office until he had, in every respect, fully qualified himself for it. And when, at last, he was elected, he introduced many important reformatations, and discharged the duties of the office with almost unexampled fidelity. The people spoke loudly in praise of his indefatigable industry; and, indeed, his application was almost incessant. He was in the treasury from morning till night; and there was no assembly of the people, nor any meeting of the senate, that he did not attend; so attentive was he to the correct management of public affairs. At the expiration of his office, he was conducted to his house by nearly the whole body of citizens. But his attention to the duties of it did not now cease. He still kept a vigilant eye upon the treasury, and passed much of his time in inspecting the public accounts. Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, Cato was the first to attend and the last to withdraw; and, that he might not lose any time, it was his frequent practice, (whilst the rest of the members were assembling,) to sit down and read, holding his gown before his book, that it might not be seen.

The *reputation* of Cato for invincible integrity was so great, that, at length, it became proverbial among the people. Hence, when any thing incredible was asserted, it was customary to say that "they would not believe it, even if it were affirmed by Cato." One of the Roman orators, in a cause where only a single witness was produced, exclaimed, to the judges: "The evidence of one man is insufficient,

“even if that man were Cato.” A man profuse in his expenditure, and, in all respects, a worthless character, one day speaking, before the senate, in praise of temperance; he was thus instantly opposed by another: “It is not to be endured, (said his opponent,) to hear a man, who eats and drinks like Crassus, and builds like Lucullus, pretend to talk like Cato.”

The friends of Cato were desirous that he should offer himself for the *tribuneship*; but he refused to do so, asserting that he was not yet sufficiently prepared for the office. An occurrence, however, which, not long afterwards took place, induced him to change his mind. He was, one day, proceeding to his country seat, in Lucania, accompanied by a few of his philosophical friends, when he met a great number of horses and attendants, belonging to Metellus Nepos, the brother-in-law of Pompey. This person was going to Rome, for the purpose of offering himself a candidate for the *tribuneship*. Cato, apprehending that he might entertain designs that were inimical to the welfare of the state, immediately returned to the city, and became his opponent. No sooner was it known that Cato had returned, and was a candidate for this office, than the people flocked around him, with so much zeal and eagerness, that it was with great difficulty he could even make his way to the forum. Both he and Metellus were chosen.

It had, for many years, been customary to influence the election of consuls by bribery. This was a practice so injurious to the state, that Cato publicly declared, “he would accuse, before the Roman tribunals, any man who was guilty of it.” In his procedure, on this subject, he was, however, charged with an undue partiality: he excepted Silanus, who was married to one of his sisters, and he accused the consul Muræna, who was not more guilty than the other. Cicero was the advocate of Muræna,

and pleaded his cause with great eloquence. He was acquitted; and it is highly to his credit, that, instead of resenting the conduct of Cato, he always, afterwards, treated him with the greatest respect; and, through the whole of his administration, exhibited towards him every possible mark of honour and of confidence.

Before Cato entered upon his office of tribune, he took an active part against Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and some other *accomplices of Catiline*, who had formed a plan for burning the city and overturning the government. He made a memorable speech against them in the senate, in which also he strongly inveighed against the corrupt manners of the age. He concluded his speech by stating, it was absolutely necessary that all the conspirators should be put to death; and the senate were influenced by him to pass a decree for that purpose.

Pompey was, now, at the head of the Roman army in Syria; and a law had been proposed for recalling him, for the alleged purpose of preserving the city from the danger of Catiline's conspiracy. The real design, however, was to deliver the republic into his hands; for he had contrived to prevail with the people, to invest him with almost absolute power. The firmness of Cato alone preserved the government; but, in consequence of his opposition to those projects, which, in case of their success, would, probably, have terminated in the misery of the people, he was exposed to great personal danger. Pompey, being informed that it was impossible for him to accomplish his designs, without the concurrence of Cato, sent to him a friend, to propose an alliance by marriage. He was desirous of himself marrying the elder, and his son the younger, of Cato's two nieces. But Cato, without hesitation, replied: "Go and tell Pompey that I am not to be gained by female influence, though I otherwise much value his kindness. So long as

“ Pompey acts honourably and justly, he shall find
“ in me a friendship more firm than any alliance;
“ but I will not give hostages to Pompey’s glory,
“ against my country’s safety.”

This reply, laudable as it was, proved injurious to his country; for Pompey, soon afterwards, established a connexion with Cæsar; and the united power of these two eminent men, gave rise to the civil wars which followed, and which terminated in the destruction of the government. But, in whatever manner he acted, Cato had an extremely difficult task to perform. He had to preserve a government which was undermined by the intrigues of men great in power, and sunk in luxury and corruption: he had to oppose the corruptions both of the patricians and plebeians.

Pompey returned to Rome, and, to increase his popularity, he projected the establishment of the Agrarian law, in favour of the army. This was strongly opposed by Cato, and was, in consequence, laid aside. After Cæsar’s return from Spain, that general acted in conjunction with Pompey; and, among other measures to acquire popularity, they again proposed the passing of laws for the distribution of lands among the poor. Cato, suspecting the evil designs of this apparent favour conferred upon the people, was strenuous in opposing it. He foresaw, and expressly stated, that the intention of Pompey was not to benefit the people; but merely to entice them to confer power on those by whom the favour should be obtained: that, in fact, the people were deceiving themselves, and would, in the end, be the sufferers. This, eventually, proved the case. The whole popular voice, however, being against him, and, consequently, all opposition being useless, he was persuaded, by Cicero, and other opponents of the measure, to yield to the public opinion. He did so; and the Agrarian law was passed. Cato had long foreseen the evil consequences that would re-

sult from the *alliance betwixt Cæsar and Pompey*; but could not prevent them: "We have lost our liberty: (said he) there is an end of the republic."

Elated with his success, Cæsar proposed a law for distributing part of the province of Campania amongst the poor. Cato alone opposed it; and, although Cæsar occasioned him to be dragged from the bench in the senate and conveyed to prison, this independent Roman could not be prevented, as he passed along, from exhorting the people to consider well the evil consequences that would result from such proceedings. The most virtuous of the senators, alarmed at the conduct of Cæsar, followed Cato to prison; and Cæsar, beginning to fear that his violence might excite general odium, secretly directed that one of the tribunes should rescue Cato from the officers and liberate him.

The virtuous character and independent conduct of Cato, determined his opponents to remove him, for a while, out of the country. For this purpose they induced the tribune Clodius to procure an order for him to go, on a special commission, to the island of *Cyprus*. He was thus, for a while, prevented from opposing the projects of Pompey and Cæsar. As soon, however, as the duties imposed on him had been discharged, he *returned to Rome*. When the arrival of his fleet in the Tiber was announced, the magistrates and priests, the senate, and great multitudes of the people, went to the bank of the river to receive him; and the senate, afterwards, voted to him some distinguished honours; but he thought it proper to decline them. This took place in the six hundred and ninety-sixth year of the city, and in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

About this time Cæsar, meditating the most ambitious projects, set out for the western parts of Europe. His design was to conquer Gaul, to bring back his victorious bands into Italy to subvert the republic, and then to raise himself to supreme power.

After some time, and after he had obtained many important victories, he contrived to obtain interviews with Pompey and Crassus, in which it was agreed that the two last should be candidates for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his command five years longer, and that they should be careful to secure to themselves the best provinces, revenues, and troops. This was nothing less than a division of the state, and a direct plot against the established liberties of the people.

Pompey and Crassus were, accordingly, elected consuls; and Cato, watchful for the public welfare, and well knowing that they contemplated the destruction of the government, was resolved, to the utmost of his power, to oppose their tyranny. He, therefore, offered himself a candidate for the *prætorship*; but Pompey, by united violence, artifice, and bribery, prevented his election, and caused that office to be filled by a man of worthless character. At the close of the election, Cato, standing up in the assembly of the people, foretold, as if, by inspiration, all the calamities which afterwards befel the state; and earnestly exhorted the people to be on their guard against the projects of Pompey and Crassus.

In the ensuing year he was a candidate for the same office, and succeeded; and the rectitude of his conduct and the equity of his judgments, were the subject of universal approbation. But he gave considerable offence by his want of dignity, whilst in the act of administering of justice. When the weather was hot, he would often sit, on the prætorial bench, without his robe and shoes; and, in this state, would hear the trials, and would give judgment upon personages of even the first rank in Rome. His enemies asserted that he had sometimes been known even to pass sentence, when in a state of intoxication; but of this there is not the slightest proof.

He, fearlessly, proceeded in the performance of his duty. Among other things he resolved, if it

were possible, to extirpate the extreme corruption which, at that time, was prevalent in elections of almost every description. For this purpose, he moved that a law should be passed, requiring, of every candidate, that he should declare, upon oath, the manner in which he had gained his election. This gave so much offence, that, as Cato was one morning proceeding to the tribunal, he was so excessively insulted by the mob, that it was not without difficulty he escaped with his life. On reaching the tribunal, he stood up, and his firm and dignified aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorder of the populace. He afterwards addressed them on the subject, and was heard with general attention. The senate declared their approbation of his conduct; but he replied, that no compliment could in return be paid to them; for they had deserted their prætor, when even his life was in danger. His law, however, was passed, and it had such an effect, that the candidates for the tribuneship of that year, agreed that each should deposit, in the hands of Cato, a sum of money equal to about four hundred pounds, to be forfeited to the public, if he should be found guilty of bribery. Cato refused to take the money, and only required that each of the candidates should find security. On a subsequent conviction of one of them, Cicero is said to have exclaimed: "O happy Cato, from whom no one dares to ask a dishonest thing!" On another occasion, Cicero declared that "if the elections should go on freely and without bribery, Cato alone would have effected more than all the laws and courts of justice of the republic."

Pompey adopted every possible mode of injuring the character, and diminishing the reputation, of this eminent Roman; and he elevated his own credit and authority to such a pitch, that, in the year of the city 701, he caused himself to be elected consul, and to be invested with the privilege of choosing for himself

a colleague. The state of the public affairs, at this time, must have been indeed bad, for this unprecedented election had the assent of Cato, who declared that any government was better than anarchy and confusion. Indeed, so much discord did actually prevail in Rome, that there were almost incessant riots, disturbances, and assassinations, among the adherents of those who were candidates for public offices.

Pompey was so much delighted with the assent of Cato, that he invited him to his house; received him with the most marked indications of kindness; entreated to assist him in the administration, and, in particular, to preside at his councils. Cato replied, that "he had not formerly opposed Pompey from any motives of private enmity; and that, on the present occasion, he had not supported him from personal favour; but that, in both, he had been actuated by an anxious desire for the welfare of the state: that, in private, he should always be glad to assist him with his counsel; but that, in public, he would not be deterred from speaking his sentiments, whether they might be favourable or obnoxious to the plans which might be proposed." And he adhered to this declaration; for, in several instances, afterwards, he publicly reprov'd the conduct of Pompey.

Cæsar, who, during several years, had been occupied in carrying on war against the western nations of Europe, had gained many important victories. He had attacked the Germans, though at peace with the Romans, and had slain no fewer than three hundred thousand of them. Some of the citizens proposed, in the senate, that a general thanksgiving to the gods should be decreed, for his success; but Cato was of a different opinion. He strongly opposed it, and said, that "Cæsar ought to be delivered up to the vengeance of those nations whom he had so unjustly attacked." When Cæsar was informed of

this opposition, he wrote a severe letter against him. This was read in the senate, and afforded Cato an opportunity of speaking strongly, respecting the conduct and designs of Cæsar. These he fully exposed; and he stated to the senate, in distinct terms, that "Rome had nothing to fear from any of the enemies against whom Cæsar was contending, but only from Cæsar himself." On a subsequent occasion, when the designs of Cæsar became evident, Cato asserted, in the senate, that "now was coming to pass the very event which he had so long foretold."

This proved to be the case. News was shortly afterwards brought, that Cæsar had crossed the Rubicon, and was advancing, with his army, towards Rome. It was now acknowledged by all, that "Cato alone had distinctly foreseen, and as distinctly foretold, the intentions of Cæsar." Cato said that "if the senate had followed his advice, they would not, at this time, have been reduced to the necessity of fearing one man, nor of depending upon one man for safety."

As it was now but too evident that Cæsar was looking forward to the supreme power, Cato, to counteract his projects, thought it requisite to advise that the chief command should be given to Pompey: "For those (said he) who have been the authors of great evils, can best remove them." But, had the constitution of the republic been still unshaken; had the nobles and the people acted with cordiality and firmness, both Cæsar and Pompey ought to have been deprived of their command. Cato joined Pompey, because, by so doing, he believed that he was adopting the only means that were left, of endeavouring to restore the liberties of his country: but it appears that liberty was in equal danger from Cæsar and from Pompey.

A *civil war* took place in consequence of the quarrel between these two commanders. Pompey retired

into Thessaly, where he was followed by Cæsar; and, in a battle which was fought on the plains of Pharsalia, he was defeated. He escaped thence into Africa; and Cato, informed of the course that he had taken, hastened after him, with all the troops that he could collect. On reaching the coast of *Africa*, he was informed of the death of Pompey. The troops now declared that they would follow no other leader than Cato; he consequently took upon himself the command, and marched into *Libya*, intending to join Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey. The march was painful and hazardous, through sandy and inhospitable deserts. Notwithstanding this, Cato proceeded all the time, on foot, undergoing the same hardships and inconveniences as his men. Cæsar afterwards landed in Africa, to attack the Roman forces which were in that country; and Cato, after having given up the command of his little army to Scipio, hastened to *Utica*. This place he furnished with ammunition and provisions, and rendered sufficiently strong to sustain an attack, if Cæsar should approach it. He also advised Scipio, as he had done Pompey, not to risk a general engagement, but to prolong the war, and endeavour to wear down the strength of his enemy, by incessantly harassing him. Scipio, however, despised the advice and was overthrown.

After this, Cæsar advanced to *Utica*, and Cato made every preparation that he considered requisite for supporting a long siege; but, finding the inhabitants and many of his soldiers unwilling to concur with him, he resolved to *terminate his life*, that he might not fall into the hands of Cæsar. He, however, studiously concealed his intention from his friends.

For such of his adherents as were desirous of escaping by sea, he provided ships and whatever else was necessary; and he gave money and other requisites, to those who wished to escape by land. To the people of *Utica* he advised that, without delay, they should send to

Cæsar, and endeavour to make their peace with him.

In the evening Cato bathed, as usual; and then went to supper with a large company, consisting of his friends and of the magistrates of Utica. After supper, the conversation was carried on with much animation. Several philosophical questions were proposed and discussed. Among other subjects of discussion, was that maxim of the stoics: "That the wise or good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves." On this subject Cato spoke with so much earnestness, that several persons in the company began to suspect his design. A profound silence followed, and Cato immediately changed the discourse.

When the supper was over, he walked a little while, with his friends, and then gave the requisite orders to the captains of the guard. He afterwards retired into his chamber, and, having embraced his son and each of his friends, with more than usual affection, took leave of them for the night. Lying down on his couch, he read Plato's Phædon, or dialogue on the immortality of the soul. When he had perused the book about half through, he looked up, and saw that his sword was not hanging, as usual, at the head of his bed; for his son had taken it away, during the supper. He ordered it to be brought; and, after various excuses and delays, it was again suspended in its place. After this he again took up the book, and having read it aloud twice through, he slept till about midnight, when he called for two of his freed men. One of these, named Butas, he sent out, to enquire if all his friends had embarked. Butas, in a short time returned, and stated that "they were all gone." Cato once more laid down, as if to sleep; and Butas closed the door and left him. Immediately afterwards, Cato took up his sword and stabbed himself under the breast. Struggling, in the agonies of death, he fell from his bed. The noise alarmed his friends, who instantly rushed

into the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and made some attempts to save his life; but he tore open the wound with his hands, and, soon afterwards, expired, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

The intelligence of his death was soon circulated through the city; and the inhabitants flocked round the house, calling Cato their benefactor and their saviour, the only free and unconquered man. Although they knew that Cæsar was fast approaching the place, they performed the funeral obsequies of Cato with the greatest magnificence. They buried him by the sea-side, where, in the time of Plutarch, about one hundred and seventy years afterwards, his statue still remained. From the circumstance of his death at this place, he has since been called *Cato of Utica*.

When Cæsar was informed of what had taken place, he is reported to have exclaimed, "Cato, I envy thy death, since thou couldst envy me the glory of preserving thy life." There can be little doubt that Cæsar would have rejoiced to save the life of Cato, if he could have secured the influence of so eminent a man, in promoting the schemes of ambition which at this time occupied his mind. But Cato was not likely to have countenanced any project of Cæsar, for he had, long before, declared that if Cæsar proved victorious, he would terminate his existence.

For united valour and patriotism, Cato was indisputably the most celebrated *character* of his time. In every public situation, he acted with a great and independent spirit; the spirit not of turbulence and faction, but of true patriotism, of eager contention in support of the established laws and government of his country. Sallust says of him, that he was "a lover of moderation, of propriety, and, above all, of strict discipline. He did not seek to vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious; but in bravery with the brave, in modesty with the

“modest, and in abstinence with even the most
“abstemious. He chose rather to *be* good, than to
“appear so.” Much of his anxiety and some of his
most powerful exertions were employed in resisting
and counteracting the effects of the luxury and cor-
ruption of the times. Fearless and intrepid, he
performed his duty in opposing the turbulent dema-
gogues among the Roman people; equally unmoved
by the tumult and violence of the plebeians, and by
the threats and hatred of the great. He was invin-
cible by all the temptations that could be proposed,
and superior to all the insults and ridicule which
could be cast upon him, by men, who, at the same
time that they pretended to treat him with contempt,
really most envied his glory. On the tribunal of
justice, he had the esteem and the confidence of
every unbiassed Roman; for he was far above all
influence, either of corruption or of fear. In the
office of quæstor, or manager of the public treasury,
Cato exhibited the most shining abilities, and the
utmost diligence and fidelity. He reduced the
national accounts, from a state of confusion into good
order; and took care that the public should neither
do nor suffer wrong. He very much improved the
condition of the Roman treasury, and rendered it
evident that a state may be rich without oppress-
ing the people. In the senate he was much ad-
mired, for his eloquence, his industry, and integrity.
From the day on which he first took his seat with
that body, he applied himself, with the most inde-
fatigable diligence, to public business; and it is
his senatorial integrity which chiefly merits attention.
He was here, uniformly, the same honest man as
when seated on the bench of the judges: was intre-
pid in whatever he thought would be beneficial to
his country; and his sagacity in detecting and in
unveiling the secret views and projects of Pompey
and of Cæsar, appeared, after the event, to be
truly prophetic.

Notwithstanding these highly estimable and admirable traits of character, there were some weaknesses in Cato, which it is requisite to mention. Even his virtues appear to have been strained to too high a pitch. His apparent magnanimity is considered, in some instances, to have originated in pride. His manners were sometimes harsh and morose, and his apparent simplicity degenerated into singularity. He became so fond of social enjoyments, that he frequently prolonged them through a great part of the night. Cæsar once reproached him, on this subject, but in such a manner (says Pliny) as to exalt the character of Cato, while he endeavoured to expose it. He stated, that "while Cato was going home from one of his evening parties, in a state of intoxication, with his head covered, that he might not be known, some persons whom he met, uncovered his head; but they were so ashamed when they discovered who it was, that it might have been thought Cato had detected them, and not they Cato." His conduct respecting his wife Marcia has been much censured. He gave her to Hortensius the orator, after whose death he took her again; but it must be observed that, in doing this, he only acted according to a practice which had long been admitted amongst the Romans. Cato was unhappy in his family: his son was immoral, his two sisters were notorious for their misconduct, and his second wife did not wholly escape the suspicion of irregularity. His daughter Porcia, however, who was married to Marcus Junius Brutus, was much admired for her virtues; and was not inferior to her father, either in prudence or in fortitude.

With regard to the *death of Cato*, we have, in the first place, to consider that suicide, with a heathen, was a very different crime from what it is with a Christian. The heathens were left to the guidance of their own reason; but Christians have an express

rule of action, furnished to them by divine revelation. That the heathens had very uncertain notions on this, as on other subjects which concern a future state of existence, may be collected even from the circumstance of Cicero, in one place, saying that "Cato died in such a disposition of mind, that he "was happy in having found a cause for quitting "life;" and, in another place, that "we ought not "to quit the present life without the order of the "deity who has placed us in it." Many of the heathens considered the suicide of Cato as the act of a noble mind; but it was censured by some even of them. Martial says, "I prefer the man who deserves renown for bearing his misfortunes patiently, "and not him who kills himself to get rid of them."

It has been well observed that, "a due consideration of the perpetual mutability of human affairs, is one of the many supports which reason, even unassisted by revelation, offers against despair. It is impossible for any one to be certain that his condition in life is really and absolutely desperate. Perhaps, even at the very time when his circumstances appear to him most extreme, a considerable change of fortune may be approaching. Had Cato, in his last studies at Utica, sufficiently attended to the doctrines in Plato's Phædon, which is strongly declarative against suicide, and had he followed the example of the other senators, in prudently retiring from the untenable post of Utica, he would have found, in Spain, the power of the Roman patriots rising with such strength, as, soon afterwards, even without the assistance of Cato's name, to reduce Cæsar to a situation of peril and difficulty, from which it required his utmost efforts to extricate himself."

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Appian, Cæsar, and Pliny's Epistles.*



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MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

A Roman orator, statesman, and philosopher, of extraordinary talents; but chiefly remarkable by his success in having exposed and terminated the conspiracy of Catiline against the Roman capital and government.

At the instigation of Antony, he was assassinated, during the second triumvirate, in the year 712 of the city, and 42 years before the birth of Christ.

THE accounts which have been given of the family of Cicero, are various. Some writers assert that his father was a fuller, and that himself was brought up to the same trade. Others say that he was descended from an ancient and honourable family, which had been of equestrian rank, since the time of its first admission to the freedom of Rome. He, indeed, styles himself a "*novus homo*," or "new man;" not, however, necessarily because his family was new or ignoble; but, probably, because he was the first member of it who had sought and obtained the public offices of the state. His paternal appellation was *Tullius*, and he was the first of his family who bore the surname of *Cicero*.

Plutarch says that this name originated in ridicule, and in consequence of his having had, upon his nose, a flattish excrescence, resembling, in shape, a vetch, the latin word for which is "*Cicer*;" but others say that the first person who bore it, was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. He was himself so proud of it, that, on his first application to business, when his friends advised him to lay it aside or change it, he answered, that "he would endeavour to render the name of Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and Catuli." When he was quæstor in Sicily, he consecrated, in one of the temples, a vase, or some other offering, in silver, on which he inscribed his first two names,

Marcus Tullius; and, punning upon the third, he ordered the sculptor to engrave a vetch. Such are the accounts that have been given of his name.

Cicero was *born* at Arpinum, a city of the Samnites, now part of the kingdom of Naples, on the third of January, in the year of the city 647, and 107 years before the birth of Jesus Christ. In whatever rank of life his father may have been, there can be little doubt that he was a wise and a learned man, and that he devoted much of his attention to the *education* of his sons. Cicero and his brother were brought up by him, with their cousins, the sons of their uncle Aculeo; and, at a very early period, were placed under the tuition of Lucius Crassus, a man of rank, and celebrated both for his learning and eloquence.

As soon as Cicero was capable of a more liberal instruction, his father placed him at a public school in Rome, under an eminent Greek master. Here he exhibited the first indication of those shining abilities which afterwards rendered him the admiration of all his contemporaries. His school-fellows related such stories of his extraordinary talents, that their parents often visited the school, for the purpose of witnessing the literary performances of so surprising a youth.

The taste of Cicero seemed chiefly to lead him to the acquirement of general literature, but he had both capacity and inclination, to attain a knowledge of the arts; and there was scarcely any branch of science of which he was ignorant. He wrote some poetry, but this was less esteemed than any of his writings. His indefatigable attention far surpasses what we generally conceive of *study*. It is said that the time other young men of his age usually gave up to pleasure, was, by him, regularly added to his hours of intense application; and that he never devoted one leisure hour to absolute idleness. After he had completed those studies which are usually

pursued by boys, he attended the lectures of Philo, the academician, a man greatly admired for his eloquence. He, at the same, time, acquired a knowledge of the law under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and the president of the senate; and he, subsequently, attained some knowledge of the military art under Sylla, in the Marsian war. But afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil commotions, which were likely to terminate in an absolute monarchy, he wholly occupied himself in study.

He now attended the pleadings in the courts of justice, and the public speeches of the magistrates; and, before he ventured to plead in public himself, he studied the law in all its branches; so as to be able to sustain a dispute on any question, with even the most distinguished professors of his time. Desirous of attaining eminence as an orator, he studied intensely, every subject which was likely, in future, to occupy his attention, or to promote his views. It was his regular practice to take notes and make comments on what he read; and he long continued a plan, which he had adopted from a very early period of his youth, and which had been recommended to him by several eminent orators, of treasuring, in his memory, the substance of what he read, and then expressing the same in different words, and in the most elegant manner that he was able. He also translated, into his own language, the finest speeches of the Greek orators. For the sake of practice, he frequently declaimed in Greek; as the superior copiousness of that language, supplied him with a greater variety of elegant expressions, than his own.

In the year of the city 673, and when Cicero was only twenty-six years of age, he gave great offence to Sylla, but at the same time, obtained considerable fame, by pleading the cause of a young man, who had unjustly suffered from one of the arbitrary acts

of that tyrant. Sylla, who then held the two offices of dictator and consul, had caused the estate of a citizen, who had been proscribed, and executed, to be sold by auction. The purchaser was a favourite of Sylla, and consequently had no opponents, and the sum that he paid for it, was only about seventy-five pounds of English money; although Roscius, the son of the deceased, declared it to be worth more than fifty thousand pounds. Sylla, enraged at this declaration, caused the youth to be accused of the murder of his father, and appointed the very man to whom the estate had been sold, to be the manager of the trial. Fearing, lest he should be overwhelmed by the power of the dictator, Roscius applied to Cicero; and the friends of the young orator entreated him to undertake the cause, as he would, probably, never have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. He accordingly undertook the *defence of Roscius*; and pleaded, in his favour, so powerfully, as not only to acquire great applause, but to convince the judges of the innocence of his client, and to obtain his acquittal.

But, fearing lest he should suffer from the resentment of Sylla, Cicero soon afterwards went into *Greece*, stating, that it was requisite for him to do so, on account of the bad state of his health. This reason was the more easily admitted, as he was of weak and slender habit of body, and had, by no means, a strong constitution. His voice had, indeed, a great variety of inflexions, but it was harsh and unmanageable; and as, in the vehemence of speaking, he always elevated it to a loud pitch, there was reason to apprehend that if he did not, for a while, refrain from public speaking, his health might be seriously injured.

Greece was, at this time, a country much frequented by Roman tourists; by men who travelled either from motives of curiosity or for improvement.

Cicero proceeded to *Athens*, the chief seat of arts and of science. Here he spent nearly two years, in improving himself under the most celebrated Grecian orators; and, before he left the place, he is said to have outstripped all his masters. His health was re-established, and his voice, at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had become so manageable, that he no longer experienced any inconvenience from declaiming in public.

From Athens he passed into *Asia*; and, wherever he went, he attracted the attention of all the principal orators. Before his return to Rome, he visited the island of *Rhodes*. Here, as in Athens, he declaimed in Greek, before many of the most learned men of the island. Apollonius Molo, at this time peculiarly famous as an orator, was astonished at his eloquence; and, one day, whilst the rest of a large company were vying with each other, in their encomiums on the youthful orator, he sate silent, and apparently absorbed in study. Cicero asked him the cause: "Alas! (said he) I admire your abilities; but I lament the fate of Greece. The only glory we had left, was that of eloquence; and of that you will, shortly, strip us, and transplant it in Rome."

Whilst Cicero was absent from Rome, he received intelligence of Sylla's death; and his friends became impatient that he should return. He consequently, soon afterwards, terminated his travels, and landed on his native shore. From his travels he had derived the most important benefit. His time, so far from having been occupied in pastime and frivolous amusement, had been wholly passed in establishing his health and improving his mind: and his previous education had qualified him for deriving every possible advantage, from whatever he could either see or hear.

On his return to *Rome*, Cicero applied himself to public business, and with the most sanguine hopes

of success. By his own inclination, as well as by the desire of his father and friends, he adopted the profession of the law, as that by which he was to attain distinction; and he soon became one of the most distinguished of the Roman orators. A peculiar quickness in repartee and sarcasm animated his pleadings, and was of great service to him, in the business of the forum.

In his thirty-first year, he was appointed *quæstor*, at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn; and, having *Sicily* for his province, he afforded a very important relief, to his countrymen, by sending great quantities of corn thence to Rome. This was, at first, the cause of much dissatisfaction in the island; but, by his invariable regard to justice and moderation, the inhabitants were afterwards induced to esteem him more than any *quæstor* whom the Romans had hitherto sent.

Cicero had the fault of excessive *vanity*. He had imagined that, during his absence, his fame had extended through all parts of Italy; and in one of his orations he relates that, on his return from *Sicily* to Rome, his vanity received a somewhat severe check. When he passed through *Puteoli*, a city at that time much frequented by company, who went thither to drink the waters, he was surprised to find that nobody knew of him, and that he could mix, undistinguished, among the crowd. He asked a person of some eminence, with whom he was acquainted, what the people of Rome thought of his actions; but he was still more surprised by this gentleman (who was even ignorant of his late public employment in *Sicily*) asking him, "Why, Cicero, where have you been all this time?" So dispirited was he with these discoveries of his own apparent unimportance, that his ambition, for a little while, received a severe and useful check. He now saw, in a more correct view than he had ever before done, that the contention for glory had neither measure nor bounds. But his

immoderate love of praise, and his ardent passion for glory, soon returned, and, during the remainder of his life, often interrupted even his best and wisest designs.

He now resolved to settle in *Rome*, to live there constantly in the view of his fellow-citizens, and attentively to pursue his professional avocations at the Roman bar. He is said, however, to have lived upon the profits of a small estate which he possessed, and not to have taken either fees or presents, for his services as an *advocate*. This was peculiarly remarkable in the case of Verres, who had been prætor in Sicily, and had committed innumerable acts of injustice and oppression in that island. The inhabitants employed Cicero to conduct their prosecution of him; and he even went into Sicily to collect his facts and witnesses. These he brought, like a thunderbolt, against the accused; and, by one speech, in which he produced witnesses of every fact that had been alleged, he raised such a storm of indignation against him, that Verres was advised not to wait for judgment, but to escape immediately from the country.

In the ensuing year Cicero was appointed to the office of *ædile*, and was more economical than most of his predecessors had been in the public shows, which his office obliged him to exhibit. But he acquired great esteem by the liberality with which he relieved the citizens of Rome, who were still afflicted with a scarcity of provisions. The Sicilians, in return for his services to them, sent him a great number of valuable presents. But he was so far from applying these to his private advantage, that he made no other use of them than to lower the price of provisions.

Cicero had, at this time, a country seat at *Arpinum*, a town of the Volsci; a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii; but none of them were very valuable. With his wife Terentia he had a fortune

equal to about four thousand five hundred pounds of our money, and he became heir to about three thousand pounds more; and upon this *property* he lived in a genteel, but frugal manner, associating chiefly with literary men, both Greeks and Romans. It is stated that he seldom took his meal before sun-set; that the general weakness of his constitution required him to be peculiarly attentive to his health; and that, by temperance and management, he gained a sufficient stock of health to enable him to sustain the great labours and fatigue of his profession.

He purchased a *house on the Palatine Hill*. This he chose, that those who attended or had occasion to consult him, might not have far to go; for he, every day, had a levee as numerous as those of the most powerful men in Rome.

As there was no honour in the state to which he might not pretend, Cicero found it his interest to cultivate the favour of the people; and, though he appears to have had the love of his country at heart, it must be acknowledged that he sought also to acquire the esteem of the great, by accommodations, which cannot wholly be defended. Pompey, for instance, was seeking to establish a power, beyond the limits of the constitution; yet the necessity which Cicero found, for that great man's support, made him subservient to his ambitious views.

When he was in his fortieth year, he was a candidate for the *prætorship*; and although he had many competitors, who were persons of distinction, he succeeded. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity. Although fully employed in the duties of his office, so great was his industry, that he still found time to act as an advocate as well as a judge: not only to hear causes in his own tribunal, but also to plead them before the tribunals of the other prætors. At the expiration of his office he declined to accept any foreign province, the usual reward of that magistracy. But Cicero had

no love of money, nor any genius for military affairs ; so that those governments had no charms for him.

The *consulship* was the chief object of Cicero's ambition ; and, two years after the expiration of his prætorship, he offered himself for it, and was successful. One of his inducements to offer himself, at this time, was the hope of being able to save his country from the effects of an impending conspiracy, which, if successful, he knew would inevitably terminate in general ruin. *Lucius Catiline*, a bold and enterprising man, had long entertained treacherous designs against the government, and, by various arts, had engaged a great number of persons to concur in his views. He had brought his plot to such a state of maturity, that he even ventured to offer himself, a competitor with Cicero, for the consulship. Cicero had occasioned some laws to be passed which tended to repel the designs of the conspirators ; and Catiline laid a scheme to kill him, at the succeeding election of consuls. Information of this was given to Cicero ; and, on the day of election, he clad himself with armour under his robes. The principal persons of Rome conducted him, from his house, to the Campus Martius. There he threw back his robe, and displayed the armour, for the purpose of pointing out his danger. The people, enraged by the atrocity of the conspirators, immediately crowded round to protect him. The consequence was that, although Catiline was again a candidate, he was again rejected. Thus rendered desperate, he summoned his party by night ; and they agreed upon a plan for setting fire to the city, assassinating the principal senators, and seizing the capitol.

When the adherents of Catiline were preparing to carry this diabolical plan into execution, Crassus, Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went to Cicero's house about midnight. They knocked at the door, and, having roused the porter, bade the man awake his master, and tell him who attended. The cause

of their visit was this. The porter of Crassus had received from a person unknown, a packet of letters. These were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus himself, but they were all without signature. The letter to Crassus, informed him of the massacre projected by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city. It was this letter which induced him to confer with his two friends, and which led them all to Cicero. After a consultation of some time, it was agreed that Cicero should assemble the senate at the break of day. This was done: the letters were delivered according to the directions, and, at the request of Cicero, each was read aloud. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

In consequence of these informations, the senate passed a decree, "That the consuls should act in such manner as they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth." To Catiline no time was to be lost. He, consequently, hastened his infamous purposes; but, by the vigilance of Cicero, they were greatly impeded. He consequently formed a plan for the assassination of Cicero, but this was communicated to him by Fulvia, a woman of quality, who had held a criminal correspondence with one of the conspirators. Two persons, who were not publicly known to be concerned in the conspiracy, were directed by Catiline to go to Cicero's house, early in the morning, and, under a pretence of paying their compliments, were to attack and kill him. As soon as it was light the assassins went, but were denied admission.

Cicero next assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter, a place in which it seldom met, except during times of public alarm. Catiline came, as if with a design to make his defence; but all the senators shrunk from him, and left him alone, on the bench upon which he sat. The audacious appearance of the traitor, in this place, drew, from Cicero,

that memorable burst of eloquence, which is still extant, and which is called the "first oration against Catiline." He indignantly detailed, in the presence of that traitor, the discovery of his treasons, and the certainty of the punishment which awaited the proof of them. He detailed to the senate many particulars that had occurred, and many plans that had been arranged at the meetings of the conspirators; but, to prevent any confusion in the state, from the capital punishment of so many persons of rank as appeared to be implicated in the conspiracy, he merely ordered Catiline to quit the city: telling him that the gates were open to him, and that no one would prevent his departure.

In vain did the traitor attempt to reply to the convincing proofs of his guilt that had been adduced; and, finding it impossible any longer to wear the mask, he rushed from the senate-house, vowing that "he would extinguish, under the ruins of his enemies, the fires which they were lighting around him." The event fully justified the political sagacity of Cicero. Catiline hastened from Rome, with about three hundred desperate men, and, proceeding into the country, assembled a considerable body of troops.

Several of his adherents still continued in Rome. These were kept together and encouraged, with hopes of final success, by Cornelius Lentulus, a man of noble birth, but who had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries. Catiline resolved, if possible, to destroy the whole senate, and many of the citizens; and to burn the city. The night was fixed, and all the arrangements were made; but this plot was also discovered by the indefatigable exertions of Cicero; for he had emissaries in every part of the city, who held a secret correspondence with many that had pretended to join in the conspiracy.

A messenger, carrying letters to Catiline, was intercepted. The letters were found to be of great

importance. Cicero read them to the senate, and took the depositions of witnesses to many facts, which proved the designs of the conspirators. Lentulus now found himself so entirely detected, that he resigned his office, put off his purple robe, and took another, which was more suitable to his situation; and he and his accomplices were delivered into the custody of the prætors.

On the ensuing day the senate met, to deliberate on the punishment which should be inflicted on the conspirators; and, after much debate, they were condemned to die. The sentence had no sooner been passed, than Cicero, at the head of the senate, went to the houses in which the criminals were lodged. He first took Lentulus, and, conducting him through the forum, to the prison, delivered him to the executioner. He afterwards brought out each of the others, and they were successively executed. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul as a guard on this occasion; and the people looked on, in silent horror, at the scene. On his return through the forum, after the death of these men, Cicero saw a great number of others, who had been implicated in the conspiracy. These were anxious to know the fate of their leaders; and Cicero called out to them, "They have lived." This was the mode in which the Romans, (to avoid what were considered by them inauspicious words) were accustomed to express death. The consul thus fulfilled a promise which he had made, in his second oration against Catiline, to quash the conspiracy without tumult*.

So great was the popularity that Cicero acquired, by the suppression of this conspiracy, that, on his

* Caius Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in the consulship, now marched into Etruria, and there destroyed the ill-disciplined troops of Catiline; and Catiline himself, resolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, rushed into the ranks of his enemy, and was killed.

return to his house, the people saluted him with loud acclamations of applause. The streets were illuminated with a multitude of lamps and torches; and the women are said to have held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold him whom they called "the saviour and second founder of Rome." This was esteemed the most illustrious day in the life of Cicero; but it afterwards proved to him a source of the greatest misfortunes.

The natural vanity of Cicero was so much elated by his success, and by the popularity which he had acquired, that he rendered himself obnoxious to many persons, by incessantly boasting of his late proceedings. Whenever he entered the senate, the assemblies of the people, or the courts of justice, he invariably contrived to allude to them; and all his writings contained the strongest encomiums on his own actions.

The honours which he had acquired, excited considerable jealousy; and many powerful men in the state, of whom Cæsar was one, seized every possible opportunity of mortifying him. On the last day of his office, when he was about to make a speech to the public, before he took the usual oath "that he had faithfully discharged his duty," the tribune, Metellus, would not suffer him to do so; and directed him merely to take the oath; asserting that, "the man who had put citizens to death, ought not to be permitted to speak for himself." On this, Cicero, who was never at a loss for a reply, instead of pronouncing the ordinary form of the oath, swore aloud, that "he had saved the republic and the city from ruin." The project of Metellus failed. The populace joined in the oath, and conducted Cicero from the place, with every possible demonstration of respect.

Although Cicero was excessively vain of his own talents and actions, he was not so narrow-minded as to deny to others a due share of credit. There was

not one of his contemporaries, celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not seek to promote, either by speaking, or by writing, in his commendation. He, however, made many enemies by the keen *sarcasms*, in which he occasionally indulged. Plutarch has recited several instances of these. On one occasion, he pleaded for Munatius; and, by his masterly defence, obtained the acquittal of his client. Afterwards, this Munatius prosecuted one of Cicero's friends, which so much enraged him, that Cicero exclaimed: "Think you it was the merit of your cause that saved you: it was the cloud which I threw over your crimes, that concealed them from the sight of the court." On another occasion, he had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus; and, a few days afterwards, he as publicly reproached him. "How can this be? (said Crassus,) did you not lately praise me, and in the very place where you now stand?" "True, (answered Cicero,) but I did it only by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus once affirmed that none of his family had lived beyond the age of threescore years: but, afterwards, desirous of contradicting the assertion, he said: "What could I be thinking of, when I said so?" "You wish now to deny it, (observed Cicero,) because you know that the truth of such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome."

From the time of his consulate, the influence of Cicero began to decline. The rising popularity of Cæsar, the triumphal return of Pompey from Asia, and his reconciliation with Crassus, which laid the foundation of the first triumvirate, occupied the minds of men, and confined the stream of power to that particular channel. Cicero, sensible that a storm was gathering around him, employed himself chiefly in literary pursuits, and in his professional avocations.

Shortly after this, he incurred the hatred of *Publius Clodius*, a noble Roman, but a young man of violent and abandoned character. Clodius was prosecuted for the violation of certain mysteries, in an attempt to obtain access to Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar; and Cicero appeared as an evidence against him. By corrupting the judges, Clodius, however, contrived to obtain an acquittal; and, afterwards, being created a tribune, he had influence sufficient to obtain a law, that "any person who had caused a Roman citizen to be put to death, without a judicial sentence, should be sent into banishment." Cicero, though not named in this law, well knew that it was aimed at him. He, therefore, changed his usual dress, and assumed the habit of a criminal. This, he soon found to have been a very imprudent act; for Clodius and his adherents publicly insulted him, wherever he appeared. Many members of the senate, and nearly the whole equestrian order, changed their habits, and clad themselves in deep mourning; but the consuls, by their edict, commanded them to resume their usual attire.

The power of Clodius now became so great, that it was requisite for Cicero either to remain in Rome, and openly to defend himself; or, to retire from the city, until the fury of the storm which had been raised against him, should be spent. Cato advised him to adopt the latter plan. Consequently, about midnight, he privately *quitted Rome*; and, attended by a few friends, he proceeded, on foot, through Lucania, intending thence to pass into Sicily.

After his departure, Clodius occasioned a decree to be issued, prohibiting him, under pain of death, from approaching within five hundred miles of Rome. He also caused the houses of Cicero, both in Rome, and in the country, to be burnt; and that the loss of the former might be irretrievable, he consecrated the site on which it had stood, and built,

upon it, a temple to the goddess Liberty. The furniture, and other effects of Cicero, were put up to public auction, for several successive days; but it is stated that no one could be induced to purchase them.

In his progress through the country, this eminent Roman was every where received with demonstrations of respect. But his intention of residing in Sicily, was frustrated, by the prætor forbidding his entrance into that island. Cicero, consequently, directed his course, through Greece, to *Thessalonica*, in Macedonia. Here great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him; and the cities of Greece strove with each other, which should show him the most distinguished attention. He was now in his forty-ninth year.

Cicero did not conduct himself, during his *banishment*, with that fortitude which might have been expected from a man of his powerful mind. He was dejected and disconsolate; and exhibited indications of weakness, and uttered expressions of grief, that were wholly unworthy of his character. The melancholy tone in which his letters were written, during this sad period of his existence, have drawn upon him the censure of weakness. But allowance must be made for a mind exquisite in its texture, though great in its compass; for sensibility flushed and warm with recent glory; and for splendid genius torn from the community which it had saved and adorned.

Clodius, who was now the pest of the Roman republic, had but a temporary triumph. He had become formidable to the patricians; and, having drawn the populace into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he ventured to attack Pompey. The latter severely blamed himself, for having abandoned Cicero; and took every possible means for effecting his return; and, as Clodius constantly opposed the proceedings of the senate, that body, at

length, decreed that no public business whatever, should be dispatched by them, till Cicero was recalled. The sedition increased: some of the tribunes were wounded in the forum: and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain.

The people, ever changeable, after awhile, began to unite against Clodius. He was expelled, with disgrace, from the forum, and the *recall of Cicero* was proposed. No measure had ever been carried with greater unanimity than this. The citizens, from various distant parts of Italy, flocked to Rome, and gave it their support; and, after a decree to that purpose had been passed, the news of it was received at the theatres with the loudest acclamations of applause. One of the actors, in invoking the name of Brutus, substituted that of Cicero; and the audience were so much delighted with the alteration, that they called for the speech over and over again.

After an absence of sixteen months, Cicero was restored to his country. It was decreed that all his houses, both in the town and county, which had been demolished by Clodius, should be rebuilt at the public expence. And, on his *return to Rome*, so much joy was expressed by the cities, and so much eagerness by all ranks of people, to meet him on the road, that his own account was said to fall short of the truth, though he remarked that "Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome."

This was a proud day for the Roman orator; but it afforded one more test of the inconstancy of the populace, and of the little esteem in which popular favour ought to be held. Many of the men who were now foremost in expressing their applause, had been the most active in promoting his banishment.

Cicero was restored to his former dignity; and, soon afterwards, during the absence of Clodius from

Rome, he went up, with a great company, to the capitol, and there destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts that had been passed, in Clodius's time. The persecutions he had undergone, rendered Cicero more cautious in his political conduct than he had hitherto been. He studied to keep on good terms with Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus; and he exercised his eloquence chiefly as defendant, for the purpose of securing to himself personal friendship.

Clodius was killed in an affray with *Milo*, a friend of Cicero; and Milo, being accused of this murder, engaged Cicero in his defence. The senate, to prevent the possibility of tumult, appointed Pompey to preside at the trial; and he, to secure the peace of the city, surrounded the forum with soldiers. Apprehensive lest Cicero might be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and thereby be rendered unable to plead, Milo prevailed with him to go in a litter, to the forum; and to repose himself there until the judges and court were assembled. It is well known that this great orator was often extremely nervous when he spoke in public; and, in many of the causes that he pleaded, he scarcely ceased from trembling, even in the height and vehemence of his address. On the present occasion, when he left the litter, and saw Pompey seated on high, and beheld the weapons glistening around the forum, he was so confused, that he could scarcely begin his oration. His whole frame shook, and his tongue faltered. After a little while, he recovered, and his speech, which still exists, is one of the most splendid examples of eloquence that has been recorded. But, notwithstanding all his exertions, Milo was convicted, and sentenced to banishment.

In his fifty-sixth year, he was appointed *pro-consul into Cilicia*; and, though much against his inclination, was obliged to accept the government of that province. He consequently sailed thither, with an

army of twelve thousand foot, and one thousand six hundred horse; and, during his term of service, he executed the commissions with which he was entrusted, in every respect, to the satisfaction of the Roman government. Impatient, however, to return to Rome, he left the province, at the expiration of a year, to the care of his quæstor, and set out for Italy. In his passage home he stopped at *Rhodes*, and he afterwards resided for a little while at *Athens*.

On his arrival in *Rome*, he found the flame of dissension kindled, and every thing tending to a civil war, in consequence of the ambitious projects of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and the unhappy quarrel which had taken place between these two eminent men. The senate decreed to Cicero the honour of a triumph, in reward for his services; but he replied, that “he would rather follow the chariot wheels of *Cæsar* in his triumph, than have any triumph of his own, if a reconciliation could be effected betwixt him and *Pompey*.” And, in private, he tried every mode that he could devise, for bringing about a reconciliation, but to no purpose. After an open rupture had taken place, and *Cæsar* was on his march towards *Rome*, and *Pompey* had retired from the city with many of the principal inhabitants in his train, it was generally imagined that Cicero would join the former. But, after much apparent perplexity, as to the line of conduct which he should adopt, he, at last, *went over to Pompey*. Cato was of opinion that, in so doing, he had acted with great impolicy, and thus wrote to him: “I should have been wrong to have left that party whose cause I had espoused from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable both to your country and to your friends, if you had continued in *Rome*, and had acted as the circumstances of the times might require. Whereas you have, unnecessarily, declared yourself an enemy to

“Cæsar, and will share in dangers with which, hitherto, you have had nothing to do.”

Cicero soon discovered that he had acted wrong; and it appears that he acted still more so, in making no secret that he repented of his conduct. He disparaged the whole of Pompey's proceedings, insinuated a dislike of his counsels, and was not sparing in jests and sarcasms against his allies; and, after all, was excessively mortified because Pompey would not employ him on any important service.

After the *battle of Pharsalia*, in which, on account of his ill health, he had not been present, he was desired, by Cato, to take a command in the army; but he refused to have any further concern in the war; and, retiring from the army, he proceeded to *Brundisium*, a town on the western coast of Calabria. Here he experienced many severe mortifications; for he was entirely in the power of Antony, who now governed Italy with uncontrollable sway. He had also to endure many domestic grievances, particularly respecting his daughter Tullia, whom her husband soon afterwards divorced; and he experienced some distress from want of money, in consequence of his having lent, to Pompey, the greatest part of what he had possessed. His health, likewise, began to be injured by the unwholesome atmosphere of the place. In the midst of all this distress, he was informed that *Cæsar* had arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed thence to Brundisium. He, therefore, conceived that his only hope of safety lay in setting out to meet him; and this he did, but not without some degree of shame, and for the sake only of his own personal security.

Cæsar had been desirous of effecting a reconciliation with Cicero; and, on the present occasion, he no sooner beheld him approach, than he dismounted, and received him in the most friendly manner. They walked together, in conversation, for some

furlongs; and, from this time, Cæsar continued to treat him with the utmost kindness and respect. He also confirmed to him the full enjoyment of his former state and dignity.

That Cæsar entertained a very high regard for the talents of Cicero, may be imagined from the anxiety with which he sought this reconciliation. But it was particularly shown in the *prosecution of Quintus Ligarius*. Cicero had undertaken to plead the cause of this man, who was charged with the crime of having borne arms against Cæsar; and the latter is reported to have said: "Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure, which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak; since I have already taken my resolution with regard to Ligarius, whom I know to be a bad man, as well as my enemy?" He was extremely affected when Cicero began; and the speech of the great Roman orator, as it proceeded, deeply excited both his attention and his feelings. When the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, the mind of Cæsar was wrought to so high a pitch, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop his papers out of his hand. He was finally so overcome by the force of eloquence, that, notwithstanding all his former prejudices against Ligarius, he was obliged to pronounce his acquittal.

As the commonwealth was now, in fact, changed into a monarchy, Cicero *withdrew from public business*, and employed much of his leisure time in philosophical studies, and in instructing young men in philosophy. It was, at this period, that he wrote many of those admirable works which are still extant, and which show both the solidity of his judgment, and the integrity of his heart. He chiefly resided at his Tusculan villa; seldom visiting Rome, except for the purpose of paying his court to Cæsar. He also employed himself on a history of his own times; or, rather, of his own conduct; but he was

prevented from completing it, by many occurrences, both public and private, which were to him a source of anxiety and distress. He *divorced his wife Tarentia*, in consequence of her alleged neglect of him; and, not long afterwards, he married a young woman who was possessed of considerable property, but from whom he was soon separated. But his chief distress was occasioned by the death of his daughter. He was, at this time, somewhat more than sixty years of age.

Cicero does not appear to have had any concern whatever in the *conspiracy against Cæsar*: although he was one of the particular friends of Brutus; and, although, after Cæsar was killed, Brutus called on him, by name, to congratulate his country on the recovery of its liberty. No sooner was the deed accomplished, than the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged into all the misery of civil war. Antony assembled the senate, and Cicero proposed that a pardon should be granted to all the conspirators, and that provinces should be decreed to Brutus and Cassius. The assent of the senate was obtained; but, afterwards, when the dead body of Cæsar was exhibited by Antony to the people, they became so much enraged, that the conspirators, if they had not escaped from the city, would all have been put to death.

From this time, Cicero and Antony lived in mutual distrust. Octavius, the nephew of Cæsar, then in his nineteenth year, hastened from Apollonia to Rome, claimed the property of his uncle, and sued Antony for a large sum of money which he had detained. Cicero was induced to assist the claimant both with his eloquence and interest, on consideration that Octavius should afford him all the protection in his power. By taking the part of this young man, Cicero had vainly hoped that he might

be the means of terminating the despotism, and restoring the ancient form of government.

Both in the senate, and with the people, Cicero now carried every measure that he desired; and it was on various public occasions, (consequent upon the return of Octavius,) that he uttered those well known Philippics* against Antony, which, whilst they exhibited his own extraordinary talent for eloquence, procured him an implacable and deadly foe. Antony was expelled from Rome, and the senate were prevailed with to grant Octavius the dignity of prætor. This youth afterwards persuaded Cicero to aid him in procuring the consulship; promising that he would, in every respect, submit his judgment to that of a man whose talents and experience were so much greater than his own; and that Cicero should direct all the affairs of the state. The power of Octavius was established, and Cicero soon became sensible that he had not only ruined himself, but had aided in destroying the liberty of his country. Octavius, now finding that he had no further use for Cicero, spurned both his services and his advice. He, Antony, and Lepidus, formed what was called the *second triumvirate*. They divided the Roman empire among them, says Plutarch, as if it had been a private estate; and their triumph compelled Cicero once more to seek for safety in retirement.

They proscribed more than two hundred persons, who had been inimical to their proceedings. Antony and Lepidus insisted that the name of Cicero should be amongst the number; but Octavius had the honesty, in this particular, to oppose them. After a contest of three days, however, he yielded to the determination of his associates. Intelligence of what had taken place, was privately conveyed to Cicero, while he was with his brother and nephew,

* This was a name originally given to the orations of Demosthenes, against Philip, king of Macedon, and which was applied, by Cicero, to his own orations against Antony.

at his Tusculan villa. No sooner was it communicated to him, than they all fled, first towards *Astura*, where Cicero had a country house, near the sea; and whence they intended to embark for Macedonia, in a hope of being able to join Brutus there. They were carried in separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair. Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was the more dejected, because he had not been able to make any provision whatever for his journey; and, after they had proceeded, to some distance, it became necessary that he and his son should return. They did so: and, a few days afterwards, were betrayed to the emissaries of the triumvirate, and assassinated.

Cicero embarked on board a vessel at *Astura*, and sailed along the coast to *Circæum*, where, at his own request, he was landed. He resolved to throw himself upon the clemency of Octavius; and even travelled on foot some furlongs towards Rome; but he repented and returned. He passed the night in a dreadful state of agitation; and, in the morning, was conveyed, by sea, to *Cajeta*, where he had a villa. Here, weary of life, he declared he would die in that country which he so often had saved. His servants, however, anxious for his preservation, entreated that they might convey him away, in his litter, and, if possible, place him on board of some ship bound to a foreign country. He assented, and they had not long left the house, when a party of soldiers, commanded by a centurion and a tribune, arrived at it. As the doors were fastened, they broke them open, and demanded of the servants, who had been left, where their master was; but they denied having any knowledge of him. A freed man, who had belonged to his brother Quintus, and whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts, informed the tribune, that he was retreating, through the forests, towards the sea-coast. The soldiers immediately proceeded in that

direction, and overtook him in the midst of the woods. Cicero, when he saw them, directed his servants to let the litter down; and, putting his left hand to his chin, an attitude which he was accustomed to adopt, he looked steadfastly on his murderers. His haggard countenance, his face overgrown with hair and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of the centurion, that they could not look upon the melancholy scene that followed. Cicero stretched his neck out of the litter, and the centurion severed his head from his body.

Thus fell this eminent Roman, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His head and hands were sent to Antony, who ordered them to be fixed on the rostra; and afterward rewarded the officer with a civic crown and a large sum of money.

The whole city lamented his cruel fate; and multitudes wept at the sight of those members, once gloriously exerted in defence of the laws, the liberties, and the fortunes of the Roman people, but now ignominiously exposed, in that very place, to the scorn of sycophants and traitors. His death occasioned universal sorrow, and it was considered as the final triumph of despotism, and his blood as cementing the perpetual slavery of Rome.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Sallust, Paternulus, Aulus Gellius, Caesar's Commentaries, Middleton.*



MARCUS ATTILIUS REGULUS.

A Roman Consul, who defeated the Carthaginians, in a great naval battle off Sicily, and reduced that people to a state of great distress. He was afterwards taken prisoner by them; and because he would not promote their views in obtaining an advantageous peace, he was put to death with great torture, in the year 503 of the city, and 251 years before Christ.

DURING the time of Regulus, the power of Rome in Italy was considered irresistible; and she was successfully struggling with Carthage, for the dominion of the Mediterranean sea and its islands.

No event of importance has been recorded concerning him, anterior to the year of the city, 486, when he was elected consul; and when, in conjunction with his colleague, Julius Libo, he had the honour of a triumph, for a victory obtained over the Salentines, a people who inhabited the southern coast of Calabria.

Eleven years afterwards he was again made consul, and, with Lucius Manlius, commanded three hundred and thirty sail of vessels, and one hundred and forty thousand men, against the Carthaginians. The latter, with three hundred and forty ships, engaged them off the coast of Sicily, but *were defeated* with a loss of sixty-four galleys taken, and more than thirty sunk.

After this, Regulus and Manlius proceeded to the coast of Africa, where they took possession of the town of Clupea, intending, from its strength and from its vicinity to the sea-coast, to make it their magazine of arms and provisions. At this place they received orders from the senate, that the sole command of the army should be given to Regulus, and that Manlius should return to Rome. These orders further directed, that Regulus, under the title of pro-consul, should continue the war after the

expiration of his consulship, and that he should reserve such a number of troops and vessels, to aid his operations, as he might think requisite.

He gained over the Carthaginian army an important victory. This was followed by the surrender of two hundred towns, and opened for him an almost uninterrupted line of march, nearly to the Carthaginian capital. He advanced near to the city of Tunis, but *fifteen miles* distant from Carthage.

In the midst of his successes, and when he believed that he had rendered the course clear for any other general to prosecute and terminate the war, he petitioned the senate for leave to return to Rome, stating, as a reason for his request, that, during his absence, his private property, which consisted but of fourteen acres of land, and from which his family derived their subsistence, lay neglected and uncultivated. This was a small possession to satisfy the wants of a Roman consul; and he had been informed that, even from this, his servants had carried off part of the stock, and that his wife and children, who had no other means of support, were thus reduced to a state of indigence. To this petition the senate made the only reply which could honourably have been made: they assured him, if he would continue his labours for the public, that his family should be supported, and his little field cultivated at the public expense.

The Carthaginians were now reduced to a most deplorable condition. For, besides their two recent defeats, both of which had been occasioned, not so much by any defect of courage in the troops, as by the unskilful conduct of their generals, the Numidians had sent detachments into the Carthaginian territory, that had laid waste the whole country through which they passed. The terrified people left their habitations in the country, and fled to Carthage. Here the immense increase of numbers soon occasioned a famine, the horrors of which were increased

by an hourly expectation that the place would be besieged by the Romans.

In passing a river on his advance towards Carthage, the Roman historians assert that the army of Regulus encountered *a serpent* of such tremendous size, that they were unable to kill it, until they brought against it their great military implements. After it was killed, its skin, which is said to have measured a hundred and twenty feet in length, was sent to Rome. This fact seems scarcely credible; but when we know that authentic accounts have recently been transmitted from Asia and South America, of serpents sufficiently large to destroy and swallow oxen and deer, we must not wholly refuse our faith to the story of the serpent, destroyed by the army of Regulus.

With regard to Carthage we must remark, that it would have been happy for himself, and for many thousands of his fellow-creatures, if Regulus had observed, in the cause of Rome, the same *moderation* which he exhibited in his own private concerns. But, with grief, it must be related that, when Carthage lay at his feet, supplicating for peace, he refused to grant it, except on the most oppressive terms. He indeed admitted the Carthaginian chiefs to a conference; but he seemed to think that he had only to demand, for them to cede. The Carthaginians, perceiving that even if they should be wholly subdued and reduced beneath the Roman yoke, no conditions more unfavourable could be imposed upon them, rejected the terms.

We know not to what cause we can attribute this conduct of Regulus: whether to orders which he received from his government, or to the erroneous principles of patriotism under which he acted. It was, however, soon made evident, how little dependence can be placed in human success or human foresight. The arrival of *one* man at Carthage, and he of no considerable rank or celebrity, changed the whole current of events. The Roman pride and

power were laid in the dust, by the talents of a single Spartan officer, and this even at a time when Sparta was itself in a very humbled state.

The Carthaginians, after the landing of the Romans in Africa, had sent for assistance into Greece; and they received thence a supply of troops, but chiefly a Spartan officer, named *Xantippus*. On enquiring into all the circumstances connected with their defeat, Xantippus soon ascertained that the Carthaginians had been indebted, for all their losses, not to any peculiar bravery or talent on the part of the Romans, but to a lamentable want of skill in their own commanders. So perfectly satisfied were the Carthaginian magistrates with the account which he gave, that they committed the whole direction of their army to him; and he trained it with so much skill, and with so strict an attention to discipline, that, in a subsequent battle, the Romans were totally defeated, and Regulus himself was made prisoner.

Regulus now severely suffered for the hard terms which he had endeavoured to impose upon his enemy. Notwithstanding his high rank, notwithstanding any dread which the Carthaginians had of retaliation, they treated this once-victorious Roman with a degree of savage and wanton barbarity, which has not often been exceeded.

There is no part of history more deserving of attention, or which affords more instruction, than the reverses sometimes experienced by great men; and the observations of Polybius on this part of the Roman history, would have been creditable even to a Christian writer. “How wide a field for reflection (says he) “does this event open to us, and what an admirable “lesson does it convey to us, for the conduct of human life! From the fate of Regulus, we discern “how little confidence ought to be placed in Fortune, “even when she seems to flatter us with the fairest “hopes. For he, who, but a few days before, had, “without remorse, beheld the Carthaginians reduced “to the lowest state of wretchedness, was now him-

“ self led captive by them—was compelled to implore
“ mercy from those very enemies to whom he had show-
“ ed none. In this event we may also remark, (he says,)
“ the truth of a maxim of Euripides, that ‘one wise
“ counsellor is better than the strength of numbers.’
“ For here, by the wisdom of one man, legions were
“ defeated which had been considered invincible;
“ new life was infused into a people, whose losses
“ had rendered them almost insensible even of
“ misery; and their tottering state was saved from
“ ruin.” The historian instructs his readers how to
derive advantage from examples like this; which,
without exposing us to the experience of suffering,
instruct us how *to form our actions* upon the truest
models, and to direct our judgment aright in the va-
rious occurrences of life.

The Carthaginians obtained some further successes against the Romans, and particularly over their naval forces. These reverses induced them to imagine that they should soon prove superior to them, both by land and by sea. Information of their disasters having been sent to Rome, the consuls set sail for Africa, with a new fleet of three hundred and fifty galleys. On their arrival off that coast, they obtained two great victories, one by sea, and the other by land. The latter was near *Clupea*, which the Carthaginians had been anxious to recover from the Romans, but by which they had lost no fewer than one hundred and twenty elephants, the chief strength of their land forces. Now, in their turn, again humbled by adversity, they began to use their prisoner with more lenity, hoping now to obtain, through his mediation, a peace which would relieve them from their misfortunes and liberate him from a prison. At their solicitation he was sent to Rome, with the Carthaginian ambassadors, to negotiate a peace, having, previously to his departure, taken an oath to return to his prison, if the negotiation proved unsuccessful.

In entrusting Regulus with this commission, they

were totally ignorant of the character of the man, through whom they vainly expected to reap advantage. They imagined that the terrors of a prison would operate upon his mind, and induce him to obtain for them terms more advantageous than they could have obtained through the mediation of any other person. But the mind of Regulus was not to be biassed by his personal feelings or interest. When he arrived at the gates of Rome, he, for some time, refused to enter the city, as he said he was but a slave to the Carthaginians. The senators, when they were assembled to give audience to the Carthaginian ambassadors, requested him to take his seat among them; but he refused to do this, till he was commanded by them to do so. When he was called upon by the senate, to give his opinion respecting the terms that should be granted to the enemy, he strongly urged them not to grant any, but such as would have led to the entire destruction of the Carthaginian government. To the utmost of his power, both publicly and privately, he supported what he imagined to be the *interests of his country*, wholly inattentive to his personal danger; and he obeyed, even to death, what he considered to be the strictest laws of honour and of justice.

Though they were induced to act, with regard to the negotiation, according to his suggestions, the senators were unwilling to send back to his dungeon so noble-minded a citizen; and a subterfuge was suggested to him, by which he might be released from his oath; but he instantly rejected it as base, and unworthy both of them and of himself, and declared his resolution to return to Carthage, to suffer the punishments which he knew awaited him there. Voluntarily did he resign himself into the hands of his enemies, taking leave of his friends and his country for ever.

When the Carthaginians were informed that their offers of peace had been rejected, and chiefly through

the means of Regulus, it is said that they resolved to punish him with hitherto-unheard-of torments. The accounts that have been given of his death are so horrible, that some writers have been led to doubt whether he did not die in prison, and that the Romans invented the particulars of his tortures, for the purpose of heaping disgrace upon the Carthaginians. It is asserted that he was confined in a deep and dark dungeon, and, his eyelids being cut off, that he was suddenly brought into the glare of the mid-day sun, and compelled to fix his eyes upon that luminary: that, afterwards, he was enclosed in a large kind of barrel, the sides of which were every where lined with iron spikes, and there confined till he died, in the most excruciating agony. The historians state, that, when the Roman senate were informed of his sufferings, they decreed that Marcia, his widow, should be permitted to inflict whatever punishment she thought proper, on some of the most illustrious of the Carthaginians, who were at that time prisoners in Rome; and she is said to have taken so severe a revenge, that the senate were, at last, obliged to interpose, and put a stop to the barbarity of her punishments.

Authorities.—*Polybius. Appian. Aulus Gellius.*

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

A celebrated general, who by his military talents made himself master of his country. He died in the year 711 of the city, and 43 years before Christ.

CÆSAR was born at Rome during the sixth consulate of Marius, on the 12th of July, in the hundredth year before the Christian era. He was the descend-

ant from a noble *family*, many of his ancestors having filled the highest offices in the state. His father, whose name was also Caius Julius Cæsar, had officiated in the station of prætor, and had shortly afterwards died at Pisa, when his son was about fifteen years of age.

Very few circumstances have been recorded concerning the *youth* of Cæsar. It, however, appears, that his mother, Aurelia, a woman of sense and virtue, paid great attention to the cultivation of his mind and manners; and from his well-known sagacity and talent, and his regard for the liberal arts, we may conclude that he made a rapid progress in his studies. During his early years, he is said to have composed several literary pieces; and, among others, a tragedy founded on the history of Œdipus.

He entered the matrimonial state when very young, with Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, the Roman consul. To this *marriage* he may have been induced, by his previous connexion with the Marian family, and by a desire to attain eminence in the state. After the defeat of the Marian party, Cæsar narrowly escaped the fury of Sylla. He was first commanded to divorce his wife, who had already borne him a daughter; but he refused to do so, equally unmoved by the promises and the threats of the despot. This resolute conduct was the first remarkable instance of that decisive firmness of character, which Cæsar retained through life.

Offended at his disobedience, Sylla deprived him of his paternal estates, as well as of the portion which he had obtained with his wife; and removed him from the office of priest of Jupiter, to which he had been appointed by his father-in-law. Fearful lest his life might also be sacrificed, Cæsar retired from Rome in disguise, and concealed himself, for some time, in the Sabine territories. During the time he continued there, he was frequently obliged to remove, in the night, from one habitation to ano-

ther, that he might avoid the assassins employed by Sylla. His utmost vigilance did not, however, prevent him from being discovered by a party of the tyrant's myrmidons; but his persuasions, and the addition of a large bribe, had so powerful an effect, that Cornelius, the leader of the band, suffered him to escape.

From this state of anxiety he was at length relieved, by the intercession of his friends and relatives. Sylla yielded to their importunities, and relinquished his intention of taking away the life of a young man whom they were anxious to preserve. He, however, expressed his apprehensions of the consequences which might result from the enterprizing spirit of Cæsar; in whom, he said, "there are many Mariuses." On other occasions, alluding to the loose flow in which Cæsar affected to wear his robe, he desired that the nobles should beware of "that ill-girt boy."

Having a strong inclination for military pursuits, and being still apprehensive of danger from the cruelty of his powerful enemy, Cæsar embarked for Asia Minor, where he served in the army commanded by Minucius Thermus, and under whom he performed many important services. As soon, however, as he received information of the death of Sylla, he left the camp and returned to Rome.

He now studied the law, and adopted the profession of an advocate; and soon had an opportunity of distinguishing himself. Dolabella, who had enjoyed the honours of the consulate, was charged, by the Macedonians, with extortion. Cæsar was employed against him, and adduced a strong body of evidence to prove the facts with which he had been charged, but was unsuccessful. Dolabella was acquitted, and Cæsar's chagrin at the failure of his accusation, induced him to leave Rome, and retire to the island of *Rhodes*, for the purpose of there studying eloquence,

and receiving the instructions of Apollonius, a celebrated rhetorician and inhabitant of that island.

In his voyage thither he had the misfortune, near the island of Pharmacusa, to fall into the hands of pirates, who detained him several weeks as their prisoner. His conduct, during his continuance with these people, exhibited a singular mixture of levity, dignity, and address. They were so much astonished at his behaviour, that they were at a loss to determine what construction it would bear. Though, as his captors, they were his temporary masters, he inspired them with so much awe and veneration, that they seemed to guard him as a prince, rather than to watch him as a prisoner. They demanded twenty talents for his redemption; but this sum he ridiculed, as being too small for a person of his quality, and promised them fifty talents, (about nine thousand seven hundred pounds,) as a ransom more suitable to his rank. He sent some of his attendants to the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor, to procure the sum which he had engaged to pay; and he retained a physician and two servants, as the associates of his confinement. With great apparent unconcern he joined even in the sports of the freebooters. He amused himself with the composition of poems and orations, which he recited to them with all the self-complacency of an author; and, if any of his hearers forbore to admire these effusions, he stigmatized them as illiterate and tasteless barbarians. When they asked him in what manner he would treat them, if they were in his power, he replied, with an air of apparent jocularly, "that he would crucify them;" and with this doom he frequently menaced them. Whenever he was desirous of repose, he commanded their silence with a peremptory assumption of authority; and, in other respects, he exhibited a singular display of dictatorial command. No sooner had his messengers brought the sum which he had sent for, and which the citizens

of Miletus had chiefly contributed to raise, than he paid it to the robbers, and left their island.

He hastened to the port of *Miletus*, and there, with extraordinary expedition, having fitted out some ships, he sailed back to *Pharmacusa*, to the astonishment and confusion of the pirates. He attacked them in the night, captured several of their vessels, and dispersed or sunk the rest. The prisoners he punished with death; commanding them to be crucified, but not until they had first suffered death by having their throats cut. The conduct of Cæsar on this occasion has been blamed, by some writers, as accompanied by unnecessary cruelty. It has been considered that he would have afforded a pleasing instance of clemency, if he had rescued from death the persons by whom he had been favourably treated, when he was in their power; but probably he thought that the preservation of such criminals would be misplaced humanity, and that consideration may have induced him to take an active part in this punishment.

No sooner was this affair terminated, than he repaired to the island of *Rhodes*, where he improved himself in oratory and other liberal pursuits. From these occupations he was roused by the occurrences which now took place, and his ardent inclination for military life. Mithridates, the king of Pontus, had renewed his hostilities against the Romans; and Cæsar, quitting his retirement, levied, without a commission, a body of forces on the continent; expelled, from Bithynia, an officer whom that monarch had sent thither as his lieutenant; and, by his vigilance and judicious conduct, secured the obedience of the people.

Cæsar now returned to *Rome*, but, from this period, until his election to the office of ædile, the accounts of his life and conduct are short and imperfect. The first dignity which he acquired, in that interval, was the post of *military tribune*, which was

conferred upon him in a general assembly. The next station to which he was appointed, was that of *quæstor*; and whilst he was in this office, he lost his aunt Julia, who had been married to the elder Marius, and Cornelia his wife. It was customary with the Romans, to pronounce public orations in praise of their deceased friends; and Cæsar harangued the people, in the forum, on the death of Julia, who had assisted his mother in superintending his education; and, in the funeral procession of this lady, he ordered images of her husband Marius to be exhibited. It was not expected that he would deliver any oration on the death of his wife, as the Romans did not honour young females with funereal panegyrics. But his regard to the memory of an amiable partner, and perhaps a view of obtaining popularity, induced him to introduce a new practice; and he resolved to pay the tribute of public applause to the character of Cornelia. By this behaviour he obtained great popularity.

After having exercised the duties of a *quæstor* at Rome, he embarked, in the same capacity, for *Spain*, where he acquired great reputation; but he was so impatient to return to the Roman capital, that he quitted his office before the regular period of its expiration. He requested, from the *proprætor*, a discharge from his office, that he might return to the seat of government, and seek some employment which might lead to an opportunity of distinguishing himself. Having obtained the desired permission, he retired from Spain; and, once more, made his appearance in Rome.

All his proceedings were marked by an eager desire to elevate himself in the state. He obtained the office of *ædile*, or superintendant of the buildings and the public shows and games; and, by the splendour of his style of living, and by his liberality to the people, he had contracted debts to the amount of more than two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, and

these debts he greatly increased during his ædileship. In pomp and profusion he surpassed all the former ædiles. In honour of his father's memory, he exhibited magnificent sports, in which the whole furniture of the amphitheatre was of silver. He intended, on this occasion, to have had an assemblage of gladiators, far exceeding all prior exhibitions of that description; but the nobles, alarmed at his preparations, obtained a decree of the senate to limit the number of those combatants. He was, therefore, obliged to content himself with six hundred and forty of them. He solemnized other games with extraordinary expense, and gratified the people with the most sumptuous entertainments. All these charges, except such as related to his father, were jointly defrayed by himself, and his colleague, Bibulus, who, however, complained that Cæsar enjoyed the whole credit which arose from them.

By these, and by other means than these, he obtained great celebrity with the populace; and his object, in so doing, was soon perceptible. Catulus, one of the leading members of the senate, stated publicly, that "Cæsar was no longer content to undermine the political establishments of his country, but that he had declared open war against it, and avowedly was aiming at the sovereignty." Cæsar harangued the senate in his own defence; and, by his spirited eloquence, he so far repelled the charge, that even the senate acquiesced in his vindication.

Encouraged by the popularity which he had acquired, he flattered himself with the hope of being able to obtain an important military commission into Egypt; but he was disappointed, and he continued to apply his attention to civil affairs. He acted as an assistant to the prætors, in their judicial enquiries; and he had an opportunity of condemning to death several of those ruffians who had been employed by Sylla, in his proscriptions and murders.

Not long after this, the dignity of *high priest* became vacant, and Cæsar offered himself a candidate for it. But, reflecting on the enormous burden of debt under which he laboured, he resolved to retire from Rome, if he should not obtain the dignified and privileged station which he sought. When he departed from his house, to the place of election, he took leave of his mother with great emotion. "This day," said he, "your son will either be high priest or a fugitive." His competitors were two veteran senators, who had passed through the highest offices in the state with great reputation; but his endeavours were so eminently successful, that those of the senators who were interested for the safety of the state, now began to dread the future enterprises which his popularity might enable him to achieve. It was during the consulate of Cicero that Cæsar attained this dignity; and, during that orator's magistracy, a full discovery was made of the nefarious *conspiracy of Catiline*, against the Roman commonwealth and capital. Cæsar was accused of having been one of the accomplices in the plot, and he exerted his influence to spare the lives of the conspirators; but the conspiracy was too inhuman to suit his general clemency and magnanimity, and the scheme was too ill-concerted to be approved by a man of his sense and judgment. In consequence of his interferences, some attempts were made upon his life; and, for a little while, he avoided the meetings of the senate.

Cæsar had been elected to the office of *prætor* before the senate took cognizance of this conspiracy; and he had not long enjoyed his new dignity, before he was subjected to a severe mortification for having encouraged the tribune Metellus Nepos to seek the punishment of Cicero, for his concern in the punishment of the conspirators. Cato the younger became now personally opposed to him, and nearly the whole power of the senate was against him. He

and Metellus were suspended from their offices, by a decree of the senate. In contempt of this decree, Cæsar repaired to the forum, to act in his judicial capacity; but, finding that directions had been given for opposing his presumption by force of arms, he dismissed his official attendants, threw off his robe of magistracy, and privately retired to his house. Here the people flocked spontaneously to him, and encouraged him by promises of their utmost support, in the assertion of his rights. The senate, alarmed at the extraordinary conflux of the multitude, hastily assembled, to deliberate on the danger with which they were threatened. Being informed of the pacific deportment of Cæsar, they sent a deputation to compliment him with a vote of thanks, and request his appearance in the house. He there presented himself: his moderate behaviour was applauded in terms of high encomium, and he was restored to the full exercise of his functions. He was subsequently accused of treason, in having abetted the conspiracy of Catiline; but his accusers failed in their proofs, and were themselves subjected to punishment for their calumnation of him.

An occurrence of an unpleasant kind about this time took place in his domestic affairs. Clodius, a debauched young man, became enamoured of Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar; and she appears to have encouraged his addresses. The difficulty he experienced in procuring an interview with her, induced him to take the opportunity of the celebration of certain religious mysteries, at which no male was suffered to be present. He disguised himself in female attire, presented himself at the door of Cæsar's habitation, and was admitted. But his voice afterwards betrayed him. He was driven from the house, and, for this violation of the religion of his country, was subjected to a trial; but, through the interest of his friends, and the influence of bribes, he was acquitted. No sooner had Cæsar been in-

formed of the attempt of Clodius, than he obtained a divorce from his wife; but when his own opinion of her criminality was asked, he denied that he had had the least proof of it. This answer astonished all who heard it, and induced one of the senators to ask, Why then he had obtained a divorce. The following was his memorable reply: "It appears to me to be
"dishonourable to retain a wife, on whom the impu-
"tation of guilt has once been thrown. So strict
"are my sentiments with regard to the purity of the
"female character, that the mistress of my family
"must not only be free from guilt, but free from
"even the suspicion of it." This assertion, which at best was harsh and ungenerous, can only have been meant to apply to cases in which the grounds of suspicion were strong, though no decisive evidence of criminality could be adduced.

After the expiration of his office of prætor, Cæsar obtained the government of *Uterior Spain*; but before his departure, his creditors became so importunate, that, to pacify the most clamorous of them, he prevailed with Crassus, a wealthy senator, to become responsible for him in a sum of more than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. He then commenced his journey, without waiting the completion of those equipments, which were usually provided at the public expense.

On his arrival in Spain, he was eager to distinguish himself, both by his martial exploits and his political services, that he might expedite his acquisition of the consular dignity. He reduced the disaffected states to obedience; and employed himself with success, in the establishment of order, the promotion of concord, and the distribution of justice. When he had thus extended his fame, and provided, in the course of his government, large sums of money for the payment of his creditors, he prepared for his return to Rome. His ambition was directed to two objects: the dignity of consul, and the honour

of a triumph. But he was obliged to resign his pretensions to the latter; and hastened to Rome, for the purpose of urging his suit for the consular magistracy. He was appointed *consul*, but his associate was a man hostile to his ambitious projects.

The most powerful individual in the Roman republic, at this time, was *Pompey the Great*. His military fame, and his apparent moderation, had rendered him a favourite, both of the army and the people; and his influence over the senate being also very considerable, he might almost be considered as the sovereign of the state. His principal rival was *Crassus*, whose wealth, superior to that of every other Roman, had enabled him, with the aid of insinuating manners, to acquire an extraordinary degree of interest. The jealousy of competition having produced a strong animosity between these two eminent men, *Cæsar*, who wished to strengthen his power by their assistance, resolved to exert all his address to effect a reconciliation between them, that he might prevail on each to support his views. Pompey, reflecting that, if Cæsar should unite with Crassus, his own power would be endangered, listened to the persuasions of Cæsar, and agreed to join both in the assumption of the whole power of the senate and the people. A private treaty was, in consequence, agreed upon, by which these three individuals agreed, that each should assist the two others with every effort, in preventing the execution of any scheme, or the success of any measure, which they should jointly or severally disapprove.

For the purpose of increasing his popularity, Cæsar now proposed the establishment of an Agrarian law, for the distribution of public lands among the people. The penetration of Cato led him not only to oppose this measure with all his influence, but to expose the interested motives from which it had originated. Irritated by this opposition, Cæsar commanded one of his lictors to seize Cato and conduct

him to prison. The indignation of the senators was so strongly roused by this arbitrary procedure, that Cæsar was induced to give private orders that he should be liberated. Cæsar, after great difficulty, carried his measure, supported by popular clamour; for although it was opposed by the majority of the senate, the whole body of the people gave it their support. They attacked, with great fury, the consul Bibulus, and his partisans, who had opposed it, broke in pieces his fasces, and wounded several of his men. The law was sanctioned by popular assent, and every senator was requested to confirm it by an oath.

By various acts of aggression, supported by the popular influence, the triumvirate soon established a power beyond the control of the law. Cæsar, desirous of obtaining the government of Gaul, but fearing lest, in his absence, Pompey might assume more power than the treaty of association allowed to any of the three, endeavoured to bind him in a matrimonial alliance, and gave to him his daughter *Julia* in marriage. Cæsar himself, soon afterwards, re-entered the conjugal state, with Calphurnia, the daughter of Piso, whom he had destined for his associate in the consulate, in the following year.

Cæsar having thus endeavoured to strengthen his interests by marriage, entered upon his province of the *two Gauls*. In two campaigns he carried the Roman arms triumphantly through the very heart of Gaul, and in the subsequent year, (B. C. 55,) subdued the Veneti. By the lustre of his victories, he seemed to rival the fame of Pompey himself; and by his address and generosity, gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence among the people. It is said that Cæsar, in the course of his nine Gallic campaigns, took eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred nations, defeated three millions of men, of which one million was slain in the field, and one mil-

lion made prisoners. The vicinity of Britain to Gaul had induced Cæsar to attempt the conquest of that island. His first landing was severely contested; and his fleet being shattered by a storm, he deemed it prudent to retire. His second descent in the following year, (A. U. c. 699, B. c. 53,) was more successful, by reducing to peace *Cassibelanus*, king of the country. While Cæsar was engaged in this second expedition into Britain, his daughter Julia, Pompey's wife, died in childbed. This event was much deplored by all well-wishers to the public peace, who were aware, that when the league which had united the triumvirs, should chance to be dissolved, the next contest would be for the single mastery of the empire. *Julia's death* broke all Pompey's ties with Cæsar; and the death of Crassus in Parthia gave a new turn to the pretensions of the two rival generals. The continued victories in Gaul, alarmed the fears of the senate and the jealousies of Pompey. Being ordered by a decree of the senate to disband his army, Cæsar passed the Rubicon. Pompey, to whom the aristocratical party had confided the management of the war, retreated before Cæsar, who, in two months' time, (B. c. 48,) made himself master of all Italy. He pursued Pompey into Greece. The decisive battle of *Pharsalia*, (B. c. 47,) in which Pompey lost fifteen thousand men, compelled him to seek refuge in Egypt, where he fell by the hand of an assassin. When the head of Pompey was presented to Cæsar, he evinced his sensibility by a flood of tears; and by his humanity on this, as on other occasions, testified his regret of those measures, into which he had been forced for the support of his own life and dignity. After having settled the government of Egypt upon Cleopatra, and defeated, with unusual rapidity, *Pharnaces*, king of the Bosphorus, he returned to Italy, in order to quell some disturbances, which had occurred in his

absence. Indefatigable in pursuing the friends and partizans of Pompey, Cæsar next bent his course to Africa, where Labienus, Scipio, Juba, and Cato, were uniting their forces. Cato fell by his own hand at *Utica*, (B. C. 45,) in conformity to his principles of Stoic philosophy. Mauritania having been reduced to a Roman province, Cæsar returned to Rome in triumph. The sons of Pompey vainly endeavoured to prolong the war in Spain: they were defeated, and Cæsar thenceforth directed his attention to promote the happiness of Rome by wise regulations, and to disarm opposition by unexampled clemency. But some remained, whom no kindness could appease; others, perhaps, regretted the loss of the republic; others desired, from avarice and want, again to embroil the state. A conspiracy of sixty accomplices was formed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*; who, after debating on what spot they should accomplish their intentions, at last assailed their friend and benefactor in the senate-house. Cæsar seeing himself surrounded by daggers, wrapped up his head in his toga, and having spread it before his legs, that he might fall the more decently, he expired under three and twenty wounds, (B. C. 43,) in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Cæsar is said, in person, to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round limbed, rather full faced, with black eyes. In his latter years, his baldness gave him uneasiness, and he was therefore fond of wearing a laurel crown, a privilege granted him by the senate. He was particular in dress, and affected neatness in his person.

The qualities of his mind were many and extraordinary. In wine he was abstemious. Literature engaged his attention, even in the heat of the civil war; and he is said to have used with equal force the pen and the sword. He was a finished soldier: he was a perfect master of his weapons; a complete

horseman; able to endure privation and fatigue; of unusual celerity in motion; and possessing an unbounded influence over the minds of his soldiers. In clemency he was truly great: he closed the civil war with a general amnesty, and ultimately fell a victim to his neglect of precautions against his enemies.

Authorities.—*Plutarch, Suetonius.*

APPENDIX,
ON
ROMAN LITERATURE.

IN perusing the preceding pages, the youthful reader cannot fail to have observed, that the Romans must be characterised as a *military* nation. Their attention was exclusively directed to foreign conquests; and their institutions all powerfully tended to awaken and nurse the spirit of warlike enterprise. The consuls and generals, whose offices seldom exceeded the duration of a year, were anxious to distinguish that short period by some brilliant memorial of their name; so that if legitimate causes of war with foreign nations did not present themselves, the pretexts of aggression were readily invented by the cravings of ambition and vanity. While we cannot but admire the fortitude and patience, which the Romans exhibited while defending themselves from foreign enemies, humanity must reprobate that thirst of empire, which desolated whole provinces, and trampled under foot the most sacred duties of justice. We will dedicate the remaining pages of our little volume to a concise review of Roman literature. This change of subject may not be uninteresting from its variety, and will exhibit a contrast to scenes of war and carnage. The limits of our work will compel us to give but a faint sketch of Roman genius: let the reader, by consulting more diffusive criticism, enlarge his knowledge;

we must content ourselves with pointing out the general landmarks.

Some writers have ascribed to the Latin tongue, the four ages, which poets have assigned to the moral condition of mankind—the ages of Gold, of Silver, of Brass, and of Iron. We shall adopt the arrangement which disposes the ages of the Latin language—I. Into Infancy and Boyhood; II. Youth; III. Manhood; IV. Old Age in its vigour and in its languor.

I. *Infancy and Boyhood.*

This period extends from Romulus to the Second Punic War. At this time, the language was so barbarous and uncouth, that the Romans, even just before the birth of Cicero, were unable to comprehend the rude effusions of their ancestors. Some fragments of the early laws, of the Salian hymns, of the Pontifical and Augural books, remain to us, quoted in the writings of Festus, A. Gellius, Macrobius, and other grammarians.

II. *The Youth.*

The youth of the Roman language extends from the Second Punic War to the age of Cicero.

The Romans, who had hitherto been occupied in arms, now grew more civilized, and, after the arrival of Ennius and Pacuvius at Rome, began to cherish literature. But as most commencements are mean and feeble, so did it fare with the Latin tongue; for this period, though productive of great genius, was rude, imperfect, and unpolished; and, with the exception of Plautus, Terence, and Lucretius, we discover little suavity in the writings, which, like the fragments of a shipwreck, have descended to us. It is a singular circumstance, that as poets were the first who imparted strength and dignity to the Roman tongue, so were they the last who, when its splendour and purity

were almost extinct, retained some portion of its former elegance. In this period flourished:

II. 1. LIVIUS ANDRONICUS.

He flourished 238 before the Christian era. He was the first that (A. C. 239) introduced a dramatic performance on the Roman stage. In nation, he was a Greek, and the slave of M. Livius Salinator, whose children he instructed. He received his liberty from his master, whose affections he had conciliated by his talents. He wrote various poems, an *Odyssey*, tragedies, hymns to the Supreme Deity. Very few fragments of his writings are preserved.

II. 2. C. NÆVIUS.

He was born in Campania. He served in the first Punic War; but, for the freedom with which he censured all the leading men of Rome, he was expelled from the city, and died at Utica, in Africa, 233, A. C. He wrote a poem on the First Punic War, tragedies and comedies, and satires. Cicero speaks favourably of Nævius. A few fragments of his works are preserved.

II. 3. QUINTUS FABIUS PICTOR.

He was descended from the ancient and illustrious family of the Fabii. He flourished about the Second Punic War. He was the first Roman that recorded, in prose, the antiquities and events of the Romans. He wrote 'Annals,' both in the Greek and Latin language, and some books *de Jure Pontificio*. Few fragments remain.

II. 4. QUINTUS ENNIUS

Flourished from 239, A. C. to 169. He was born at Rudii in Calabria. He served in the second Punic War. He was afterwards carried by Cato to Rome, where he instructed the youth in the Greek language, and, by his wit and erudition, he conciliated the friendship of the great

men of his time. His works are 'Annals of Rome,' and 'Scipio,' in heroic verse; various tragedies; a version of Euripides' Hecuba; comedies, epigrams, satires, &c. Cicero and Virgil, and other writers, held Ennius in much esteem.

II. 5. MARCUS PORCIUS CATO

Was born A. C. 235, and died 149. He was a Tuscan by birth, and by his countrymen was denominated Priscus. Upon his arrival at Rome, he received the name of 'Cato,' on account of his penetration and wisdom. In his youth he served several campaigns, and bore all the offices and magistracies of Rome. He had the credit of being a skilful husbandman, a good statesman, a profound lawyer, a great general, a tolerable orator. He was surnamed "the Elder," and "Censorius;" which latter appellation he derived from his inflexible severity in exercising the office of the censorship. His zeal for the public good, and for the promotion of pure morals, involved him in many enmities. He was the sworn foe of Carthage; and concluded all his orations with "delenda est Carthago."

He wrote 'Origines,' 'De Re Militari,' Orations, and other works, which are lost. There remains his treatise on (de re rustica) Agriculture; but some critics have considered this a spurious production. Cato, like Ennius, is said to have introduced many new words into the Latin language.

II. 6. MARCUS ACCIUS PLAUTUS

Was born at Darsinna in Umbria, A. C. 227: he died, 184. Having made considerable property by his writings, he embarked in mercantile adventures; whose unsuccessful result reduced him to such a state of poverty, that he was compelled to hire himself to a baker, and work at the hand-mill. He wrote one hundred and thirty comedies, of which twenty remain. He is said to have considered his

Epidicus as the best of his productions. Molière, in his 'L'Avare,' has imitated the *Aulularia* of Plautus; Terence, in his *Eunuchus*, has copied the *Miles Gloriosus*; while Dryden has borrowed the plot of the *Amphitryo*. His style is considered perspicuous, if we except his obsolete phrases, the words of his own invention, and the expressions, which were intended to excite the laughter of the audience. A perusal of Plautus will tend to increase our knowledge of the Latin language; but we cannot but be offended by his vulgarities and obscenities, though his humour will perpetually excite our laughter. The most useful edition of this poet is that by Schmaieder, 8vo. Gottingb. 1804.

II. 7. STATIUS CÆCILIUS.

This author is supposed to have been a Milanese. The time of his birth is uncertain: he died, 169, A. C. He was the intimate friend of Scipio, Terence, and Ennius. He was born in a state of servitude, and assumed the name of Cæcilius upon being made free. A few fragments remain of his comedies. His comic power is commended in *Aulus Gellius*; but his style is censured by *Cicero*.

II. 8. MARCUS PACUVIUS

Was born at *Brundusium*, 152, A. C. He died at *Tarentum*, in the ninetyeth year of his age. *Cicero* and *Quintilian* concur in commending his tragic genius, which continued so unimpaired by time, that he ceased not to cultivate tragedy until he had reached his eightyeth year. But few fragments remain of his works.

II. 9. PUBLIUS TERENTIUS AFER.

This celebrated writer was born a slave at *Carthage*, 192, A. C. His powers of mind so conciliated his master, that he was soon presented with his liberty. *Scipio Æmilianus*, and *Lælius*, are said to have assisted the poet in

composing his comedies, which were attended not only with fame, but with profit. His daughter was married to a Roman knight, to whom he bequeathed his garden, twenty acres in extent. Terence has left six comedies, distinguished by their suavity, purity of style, and, what some critics deny to him, by considerable comic power. His characters are marked with great skill and consistency: and his plots are much valued for their unity and probability. The Grecian poet, Menander, was his great model. The estimation, in which this writer is held. is best evinced by the almost innumerable editions of his works.

II. 10. ENNIUS LUCILIUS.

He lived about 121, A. C. The place of his birth was Suessa Aurunca. He was a Roman knight, who dedicated himself to letters, from the pleasure which he derived from the pursuit. He was the great uncle of the celebrated Pompey. We have a few fragments of his Satires, in which he indulged with so much acrimony, as "to have spared neither gods nor men."

II. 11. TITUS LUCRETIUS CARUS.

Titus Lucretius Carus, a Roman knight, was born B. C. 95. He is said to have died in the forty-fourth year of his age, in consequence of a love-potion, administered to him by his wife. He composed, in heroic metre, six books, "De Rerum Natura;" an elegant work, full of the most beautiful imagery, and distinguished by grandeur of description, as well as by an engaging tenderness. His style is somewhat obscured by obsolete expressions; but even his quaint expressions have the imposing air of some old and venerable building. His poem may be considered as a curious repository of the sentiments which the ancient philosophers entertained, relative to the creation of the world, and the general phenomena of nature. Lucretius was much esteemed by Cicero, who revised the poem;

Virgil has liberally borrowed from him phrases and verses; and Ovid affirms, that the writings of the sublime Lucretius will not perish but with the world itself.

III. *The Manhood of the Roman Language: from the time of Sulla to the death of the emperor Augustus.*

This is the period in which Roman literature is distinguished both by its strength and its beauty. Studios and literary men laboured, during this interval, that their language should be clothed with dignity and splendour, while even statesmen dedicated a considerable portion of their time, to the cultivation of letters and of eloquence, without which few honours could be obtained in the republic. The name of orator then comprehended the knowledge of all sciences and subjects. The Romans, most distinguished by their rank and opulence, extended the most efficacious patronage to literary men. Pompey and Cæsar, themselves scholars, were emulous in exciting, by rewards and honours, such as would direct their attention to purify the Roman tongue. The munificence of Mæcenus and of his master Augustus, amply loaded with marks of favour a Virgil and a Horace, and other poets, who, thus rescued from the anxieties of poverty, were enabled to dedicate their talents to the Muses. The Romans began to imitate, and perhaps may be said to excel, their masters, the Greeks, with the exception of tragedy. The mansions of the great were decorated with the choicest statues of Greece; and, by the contemplation of those exquisite models, the taste for the elegant arts was promoted and refined. The Roman youth, after being carefully instructed in the niceties and properties of their native tongue, were sent, at a maturer age, to Athens and Rhodes, where they might study philosophy and rhetoric under the most distinguished professors. Public libraries were instituted at Rome, and were liberally open to the student. A spirit of the most ardent emulation was awakened; and the term of

“Augustan Age,” implies whatever is beautiful and perfect in the literature of Rome. In reviewing the authors of this period, we will first mention,

III. 1. MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.

He was born, B. C. 117, and died, B. C. 27. Varro dedicated himself to letters from his earliest youth, under the instruction of L. Æmilius, a man well skilled both in the Greek and Latin languages. He served some campaigns in his youth; and, during the civil war, was a partisan of Pompey. He afterwards made a prudent surrender to Cæsar; and by him was commissioned to model and collect a public library. When the civil war was renewed by Antony, Varro was stripped of all his fortune, and driven into banishment. Augustus recalled him, in more tranquil times, and Varro closed at Rome a long and peaceful old age.

Some fragments of Varro's works *De Lingua Latina*, and *De Re Rustica*, have come down to us. He also wrote some “Menippean Satires,” i. e. satires in prose, enlivened with poetical effusions in various metres.

III. 2. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

This distinguished orator has occupied a considerable portion of our attention in the preceding pages, (see pp. 265—289,) we will not, therefore, trespass upon our readers with a repetition of remarks, relating to his political life. His writings are usually divided into four classes; his Rhetorical works, his Orations, his Epistles, and his Philosophical treatises. He aimed at equalling the Greeks in almost every species of literature. He possessed a wonderful art in adapting his language to the variety of his subject; and could differ from himself, even on similar subjects. Thus his orations display, at the same time, the most diffusive eloquence or the most careful precision, in reference to the different dispositions of his hearers; and thus he was equally

irresistible in the senate and in the rostra. His writings have been the perpetual object of study to all, who are anxious to appreciate the beauty of the Roman language; nor can a more eloquent panegyric be passed upon Cicero, than the observation of Quintilian, that we must judge of our proficiency, in proportion to the pleasure which we derive from perusing the works of Cicero.

III. 3. CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

This illustrious man is no less distinguished by the use of his pen than of his sword. The chief incidents of his life have been detailed, at pp. 296—310. In his style there is a peculiar beauty, which is difficult to be imitated; nor is there any one writer who more powerfully tends to exemplify the peculiarities and idiomatic turn of the Latin tongue. He was eminent as a grammarian, poet, orator, historian, and lawyer. The greater part of his writings have perished: we have seven books relative to his wars in Gaul, and three books detailing the events of the Civil War.

III. 4. CORNELIUS NEPOS.

The birth and parentage of this writer are uncertain. He was a Veronese, and is supposed to have passed an obscure and literary life at Rome. He died, B. C. 30. He has left "The Lives of Eminent Commanders," and fragments of other books. His style is pure and elegant. As an historian he does not go into any minute detail, but seems to content himself with confining his attention to those exploits, the memorial of which might awaken, among his countrymen, the love of liberty and of patriotism.

III. 5. CAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS

Was born B. C. 85, at Amiternum, in the district of the Sabines, and, as it is thought, of humble parentage. His youth was distinguished by his love of literature, and of guilty pleasure, though he afterwards became the bitterest

ensor of the vices which disgraced his countrymen. In the civil wars, he was befriended by Cæsar, who restored him to the senate, from which he had been expelled. He was afterwards invested with the government of Numidia, which he drained with the most disgraceful extortions. He died, B. C. 35. He wrote the history of the war with Jugurtha, and of the conspiracy of Catiline. As a writer, he formed himself upon the model of Thucydides, and his style is distinguished by elegance and precision. Severe critics have censured him as being too long in his occasional orations, which he ascribes to his characters; as being too desultory and digressive, especially in the opening of his histories; as abounding too much in obsolete expressions, Greek idioms, and poetical forms; and, what is a more important defect in an historian, as being too violent a partisan.

III. 6. TITUS LIVIUS.

Little more is known of Titus Livius, than that he was born at Padua; that, though an admirer of Pompey, he was honoured with the friendship of Augustus; that Livia intrusted to him the education of Claudius, the brother of Germanicus; and that he died at Padua, A. D. 17, at the age of seventy or seventy-six.

His History of Rome originally consisted of one hundred and forty books, from the foundation of Rome to the death of Drusus, the grandson of Augustus. It is supposed that the whole of Livy was in being in the year 1517, in the public library of Magdeburg; that a canon of the city stole it; and that it was destroyed, when the city was plundered in the year 1631. At present only thirty-five books are extant; so that the historian fails us at the period when his history would have been most instructive, and our curiosity is most excited. He employed forty-five books to bring down his history to the breaking out of the third Punic war; but he employed ninety-five to bring it down.

from thence to the death of Drusus, i. e. through the course of one hundred and thirty years. The state of the government, the intrigues and machinations against public liberty, from Catiline to Cæsar, the characters of the principal actors on the public stage, the whole progress of government, from liberty to servitude, would then have been displayed in the clearest view. The loss of Livy's writings on such important points, made Bolingbroke say, that he would gladly exchange what we have of Livy's history for what we have not.

Asinius Pollio, a cotemporary of Livy, charges him with "patavinity," a term which critics have been unable to explain; some applying it to provincial peculiarities of expression; some to his modes of spelling, as *sibe* for *sibi*; some to his political principles, as if the Paduans were staunch Pompeians. He has been censured for detailing, with all the seriousness of belief, so many prodigies: and yet it may be truly remarked, that the most exalted intellect, where a future state is a matter of conjecture, and not established by the sanctions of an inspired teacher, can never wholly divest itself of superstitious fears. Lord Monboddo has a long and severe critique on Livy: but his lordship's taste, or at least his national partiality, may be suspected, when he pronounces Livy to be inferior to Buchanan. But whatever are the minor defects of Livy, all true critics must concur in pronouncing, that his style is laboured without affectation, diffusive without tediousness, and argumentative without pedantry; that his descriptions are lively and picturesque; that his orations, though occasionally ill-placed, are specimens of true eloquence, and admirably adapted to the character of the speakers; in short, that his genius was commensurate with his subject—the grandeur of imperial Rome. His reputation was so widely extended, that an inhabitant of Cadiz journeyed to Rome for no other purpose than to see Livy; and after ratifying his curiosity, he instantly returned.

“An extraordinary circumstance, (says St. Jerome,) that a stranger, upon entering Rome, should there look for something else than Rome itself.”

III. 7. MARCUS VITRUVIUS POLLIO

Flourished in the times of Cæsar, and Augustus, B. C. 44. He was born in the country of Verona; but who were his parents, what was his native city, or when he died, (he himself states that he reached an extreme old age,) are particulars unknown. He appears to have received a good education, and to have served under Cæsar. Augustus con- signed to his charge the care of his instruments of war; and, at the establishment of peace, he was the superintendant of public buildings. Vitruvius has written ten books on Architecture. His style is considered to be infected with new and foreign words; but he is commended for his professional knowledge.

From the prose writers, who flourished in the Manhood of the Roman tongue, we will now proceed to enumerate the principal Poets.

III. 8. CAIUS VALERIUS CATULLUS

Was born, about 86, B. C. The year of his death is uncertain. His poems are chiefly amatory, in which he has evinced so much purity of style and depth of feeling, that, by some critics, the Graces are said to have built their temple in the breast of Catullus. In his versification he is often rough; and his sentiments are too often impure and obscene. From his imitation of the Greek poets, he was distinguished among his contemporaries by the name of *Learned*.

III. 9. ALBIUS TIBULLUS

Was born at Rome about 64, B. C. He was a Roman knight, and though apparently attached to tranquillity and

rural leisure, he attended his friend Valerius Messala upon a military expedition. His poems are distinguished by that characteristic of true affection, simplicity. He has left three Books of Elegies.

III. 10. SEXTUS AURELIUS PROPERTIUS

Was born in Umbria, B. C. 58; died, according to some, B. C. 15. He originally cultivated jurisprudence, but being stripped of his patrimony, when Augustus distributed land to his soldiers, Propertius gave himself up to the study of poetry, under the patronage of Mæcenas. He wrote four books of Elegies; three of which were published in his lifetime. He was the imitator of Callimachus. His style is distinguished by purity of idiom, and by occasional loftiness of thought; but, as an amatory writer, he is censured for his pedantry, and unseasonable display of learning.

III. 11. PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO

Was born at Andes, near Mantua, 70, B. C. His birthday was considered so sacred by some poets, that several have distinguished it by a festive banquet, or offered up the poems of some vile writer, as a sacrifice to his manes. Virgil was stripped of his patrimony, when the veterans of Augustus were rewarded by donations of land; but he soon retrieved his losses by the patronage of Asinius Pollio, Mæcenas, and even of Augustus. His principal writings are his *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Æneid*. In his *Bucolics* he imitates Theocritus; but his swains have not the simplicity and rural air of the Sicilian bard. The *Georgics* relate to agriculture, the management of bees, &c. In these poems, Hesiod was the model of Virgil, but is far surpassed by his imitator: the style of the *Georgics* is considered to be the most exquisite specimen of Roman purity. It is impossible, in our narrow limit, to discuss the merits of the *Æneis*, in which poem Virgil narrates the adventures of Æneas, from the commencement of his voyage from Troy,

to his fortunate establishment in Italy. Scaliger, Rapin, Burke, and others, have deemed Virgil superior to Homer, his great master. This opinion has not been generally received: but while we concede to Homer the praise of originality and sublimity, we must ascribe to Virgil, as a peculiar characteristic, the most affecting tenderness. He died, A. D. 19.

III. 12. QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.

Horace was born about 65 years B. C. He was a native of Venusium, and of low birth. His father paid great attention to his education, and confided him to the instruction of Orbilius, a master well known at Rome by his severity. Upon the death of Julius Cæsar, Horace sought refuge at Athens, and there dedicated himself to philosophy and the Muses. His philosophy did not consist in strict adherence to any particular system; but seems to have been little more than a knowledge of men and manners, and a resolution to avail himself of all enjoyments which fortune might present. When tranquillity was restored to Italy, Horace, by his urbanity and genius, soon conciliated the friendship of Mæcenas and Augustus. His poems are written partly in lyric measure, and partly in the heroic. In the latter he aims, not at grandeur of style; but in an easy and unembarrassed manner, discusses points of criticism, or addresses his epistolary effusions to friends; evincing, throughout the whole, great amiability of disposition, and the purest principles of taste. By his odes, he has established his superiority, at least over Roman writers, if not over Grecian and modern lyrics. He rises to considerable sublimity, and can descend into the most graceful ease and playfulness. He died at the age of fifty-seven.

III. 13. PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO.

This poet was born at Sulmo, in a town of the Peligni, and of equestrian family. Prevented by his parents from the cultivation of poetry, to which, while yet a boy, he was strongly attached, he repaired to Rome, and was considerably occupied in legal and civil pursuits. Upon the death of his father, he retired from all public employments, and totally surrendered himself to the Muses. His poetical talents recommended him to the notice of Augustus, who, afterwards offended by some secret cause, banished the poet to Tomos. Exile seems to have deadened the poet's powers: he importuned Augustus and Tiberius, in the most abject strains, for permission to return; but they were inexorable. Ovid died, B. C. 17. His writings consist chiefly of amatory productions, in elegiac measure; and of *Metamorphoses*, a poem, in heroic metre, in which he has introduced and ingeniously combined all the transformations of note, among poets and mythologists. His style is elegant, pure, flowing, and delicate: there is a grace in his very negligence. He is apt to pursue a thought to an unwarrantable length; but even this is a fault of abundance, and not of sterility. In his amatory poems he is too often licentious, and forgot that no exertion of genius can excuse obscenity.

III. 14. CAIUS PEDO ALBINOVANUS

Flourished about 16, A. D. He was intimate with Ovid. He has left little more than a very elegant elegy on the death of Drusus Nero.

III. 15. PUBLIUS SYRUS

Lived in the times of Cæsar and Augustus. He was born in Syria, in a state of slavery. Rescued from servitude by his talents, he cultivated mimic poetry, and was preferred by Cæsar, even to the celebrated Laberius, his rival. He

has left *Mimi*, i. e. short and pointed iambic sentences, which are highly esteemed as precepts of life and conduct.

III. 16. MARCUS MANILIUS

Flourished in the reign of Augustus. He was the first Roman poet, that wrote upon astronomical subjects. His poem "de Sideribus," consists of five books, the fifth being somewhat mutilated. Some critics suppose, that the poem originally extended even to a greater length. The novelty and difficulty of the subject have exposed Manilius to considerable harshness and obscurity; but his poem is much esteemed for the energy and flow of its language, and for the elegance of description.

IV. *The approaching Old Age of the Roman Language: from the death of Augustus Cæsar, to the death of Trajan.*

This period produced many distinguished authors, who, if the state had been blessed with liberty, might have emulated the learning and genius of happier periods: but the decay of liberty brought with it a decay of intellect. The mind, depressed by the frowns of tyrants, becomes enervated, and incapable of soaring to any sublime height. True and vigorous eloquence was lost in tumour and bombast, while it had little scope for exertion but the base adulation of unworthy rulers. The conflux of foreigners to Rome unavoidably corrupted the simple and pure idiom of the Latin language. There were not wanting some patrons who fostered literature; while the recollection of former writers, the love of books, the custom of public recitations, the access to libraries, were still so many supports to declining genius. We will take a brief review of those writers, whose works, for the most part, have been preserved. Let us first advert to the prose writers.

IV. 1. CAIUS VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

Was born B. C. 19, and died at the age of forty-nine. He was a Roman by birth, of an illustrious Neapolitan family. After various military gradations, he obtained the offices of quæstor and prætor. By the excess of his flattery, he insinuated himself into the favour of Tiberius, and of his minister Sejanus; but is supposed to have been involved in the disgrace and death of that favourite. Paterculus has left nearly two books, of a compendious view of Roman history, distinguished by a florid elegance. He is more of an orator than an historian; and his unbounded adulation towards the family of Augustus, has caused his fidelity as an historian to be somewhat suspected. His chief excellence was in sketching characters with a few short strokes. He presents us with many curious details relative to the origin of ancient states; and what is somewhat unusual in ancient writers, he pays considerable attention to the accuracy of his dates.

IV. 2. LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA

Was born at Corduba, 2 B. C. While yet a boy, he was carried to Rome by his father, and studied in all the schools of moral philosophy, with unremitted attention. His frugality, as well as his reputation, procured for him immense wealth, and no small portion of envy. Under the emperor Claudius, he was banished, through the hatred of Messalina, to the island of Corsica; but by the favour of Agrippina, the second wife of Claudius, he was recalled, after the lapse of eight years. He had not so immersed himself in the questions of philosophy, as to incapacitate him for the discharge of civil duties; but, upon his return from Corsica, he was quæstor, prætor, and, as some think, consul. The education of Nero was intrusted to him; and the pupil for a while testified respect for his

master by loading him with honours and riches. The imperial favour was not durable: Nero, yielding to the instigations of his wife, Poppæa, ordered Seneca to die, leaving the mode of death to the choice of the philosopher. He opened a vein; and expired, with great fortitude, A. D. 66. His writings principally relate to moral philosophy. His style has been often criticised: we subjoin a few testimonies, which judiciously characterize his manner.

Of all ingenious writers, Seneca is the least capable of reducing his thoughts to the boundaries of good sense. He would always please; and he is so afraid that a thought which is beautiful in itself, should not strike, that he represents it in all its lights, and beautifies it with all the colours he can throw upon it: so that one may say of him, what his father said of an orator of his time: "By repeating the same thought, and turning it several ways, he spoils it: not being satisfied with once saying a thing well, he improves its merit quite away." (*Bouhours.*) Seneca perfumes his thoughts with musk and amber, which, at last, affect the head; they are pleasing at first, but very offensive afterwards. (*Palavicino.*) Seneca is extraordinary, when we consider him in parts; but wearies the mind if we read much of him. His beauties become disagreeable by being too much crowded, and because he seemed resolved to say nothing that was plain, but to turn every thing into point and conceit. (*Nicole.*) Whatever may be the faults of Seneca, they are those of genius if not of judgment: his sentiments are often sublime and striking, and his images singularly apt and beautiful. He may have done mischief as a model, but who would be without him as a specimen? (*Aikin.*) If a writer could be estimated by his works, a purer moralist could not easily be found, though they are marked by a tumid pride peculiar to the stoic sect. The reading of Seneca may, however, be very beneficial to youth, when their taste and judgment begin to be formed by the study of Cicero. Seneca is an original capa-

ble of giving wit to others, and of making invention easy to them. A great many passages may be borrowed from him, which will accustom youth to find thoughts of themselves. But the master must direct them in it, and not leave them to themselves, lest they should mistake the very faults of Seneca for beauties. (*Rollin.*)

IV. 3. VALERIUS MAXIMUS

Was a Roman; a patrician by birth. He served under Sextus Pompey in Asia. He flourished in the reign of Tiberius, to whom he dedicates his work "On the memorable Acts and Sayings of the Ancients." The style is considered rude, and unworthy of the age in which Valerius lived: but, though little taste and judgment are displayed in the collection, yet it has been the means of preserving many valuable anecdotes and examples of moral excellence.

IV. 4. QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS.

The learned world has been much divided as to the exact period in which this historian lived. Bagnolo supposes that he wrote his history in the last years of Constantine the Great; Vossius fixes it under the reign of Vespasian; and the learned Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs, 370*) in that of Claudius. But, without any decision of this question, it is sufficient to observe that the style leaves us not any room to doubt of its being written when the public taste was on its decline.

We are told that Nero gilt the statue of Alexander by Lysippus, imagining to enhance its value. Q. Curtius acted upon the same principle, when he supposed that the flowers of his imagination would add a fresh wreath of glory to Alexander's laurels: but the hero and the artist lost by these foolish decorations. The Roman historian gives way to an excessive passion for descriptions; and

without considering whether they are connected with the incidents of which he treats, he frequently introduces them abruptly. In endeavouring to make his pictures brilliant, they are incorrect; in attempting to enrich them, they become confused. The episodal details respecting the courses of the rivers Marsyas, Pasitigris, and Zioberis in Hyrcania, engross his attention, in preference to events of real consequence. From an insatiable fondness for these descriptions, many important circumstances are neglected, and the war between Alexander and Porus is scarcely noticed, though both Adrian and Strabo have mentioned it. He is very inattentive to his geography. Gordium is removed twenty-seven leagues out of its place; Arabia Deserta is mistaken for Arabia Felix; the Tigris and Euphrates are said to cross Media; the Caspian Sea is said to communicate with the Indian Ocean: the Cimmerian Bosphorus is removed into Asia; Bactriana and Gordiana are confounded. In the last two books he passes with such rapidity from one transaction to another, that we have reason to apprehend many essential facts have been either totally forgotten, or very much neglected.

We must not, however, refuse to Q. Curtius the merits of a brilliant and fruitful imagination; of a warm and picturesque mode of colouring; and of a grace and energy, which hardly any of the modern languages can make their own. The speeches of the persons that he brings forward on the stage, are not ever without interest, and they are sometimes moving and pathetic. These are beauties, which would command our approbation in any other work, where the stern authority of history did not consider them as inadmissible.

IV. 5. TITUS PETRONIUS ARBITER

Lived under the reigns of Claudius and Nero. He was a native of Marseilles, of equestrian family. Under Nero he was created consul, and was appointed by that prince to regulate and conduct the luxuries and festivities of his household; from which office he derived the name of *Arbiter*. By the jealousy and intrigues of Tigellius, he fell under the displeasure of Nero; and to avoid that tyrant's cruelty, he opened his own veins, and died with an affectation of cheerfulness and hilarity. He exhibits a singular example of elegant writing and abandoned life. Though he passed his days in slumber, and his nights in revelry, he found time to compose his "*Satyricon*;" in which, partly in verse, and partly in prose, he lashes the vices and luxuries of his age, and even spares not the emperor Claudius, whom he represents under the character of Trimalchion. This work is mutilated and imperfect; it is distinguished by great purity of style; and the barbarisms which are occasionally introduced, are not to be ascribed to Petronius, but to the characters whom he represents. It is unnecessary to add, that the *Satyricon* is disgraced by great obscenity.

IV. 6. CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS MAJOR

Was born at Verona, 23, A. D. and died at the age of fifty-six. Some are of opinion that he was born at Novocomo. He discharged several public offices, both at Rome and in the provinces. His desire of being a near witness to an eruption of Vesuvius, proved fatal to him. An interesting account of his death has been recorded by his nephew, Pliny, in the 16th and 20th letters of the 6th book. Of all his numerous writings, nothing remains to us but thirty-seven books of his history of Nature. This work, compiled from an infinity of various authors, attests the diligence, labour, and learning of Pliny, and has rendered his memory

dear to the philosopher, philologist, physician, historian, and to every professor of every branch of knowledge. In the great variety of subject and reference, which the work of Pliny comprises, it is no wonder that his style should have been, as it were, beguiled from the true Roman purity, and somewhat corrupted by rustic and barbarous expressions. Many of his accounts attest his credulity, and prove, that in ascertaining the qualities and properties of nature, he was not sufficiently accurate in his researches. We have, above, made an allusion to the account which the younger Pliny has recorded of his uncle's death; from the same writer we will extract some particulars, which illustrate the industrious and literary habits of the elder Pliny:—

“The first book he published, was a treatise concerning *the art of using the javelin on horseback*: this he wrote when he commanded a troop of horse, and it is drawn up with great accuracy and judgment. *The life of Pomponius Secundus, in two volumes*: Pomponius had a very great affection for him, and he thought he owed this tribute to his memory. *The history of the wars in Germany, twenty books*, in which he gave an account of all the battles we were engaged in against that nation. A dream which he had when he served in the army in Germany, first suggested to him the design of this work. He imagined that Drusus Nero (who extended his conquests very far into that country, and there lost his life) appeared to him in his sleep, and conjured him not to suffer his memory to be buried in oblivion. He has left us likewise a *treatise upon eloquence*, divided into six volumes. In this work he takes the orator from his cradle, and leads him on till he has carried him up to the highest point of perfection in this art. In the latter part of Nero's reign, when the tyranny of the times made it dangerous to engage in studies of a more free and elevated spirit, he published a piece of criticism in eight books, concerning ambiguity in expression. He has completed the

history which Aufidius Bassus left unfinished, and has added to it thirty books. And lastly, he has left thirty-seven books upon the subject of natural history: this is a work of great compass and learning, and almost as full of variety as nature herself. You will wonder how a man so engaged as he was, could find time to compose such a number of books; and some of them too upon abstruse subjects. But your surprise will rise still higher, when you hear, that for some time he engaged in the profession of an advocate; that he died in his fifty-sixth year; that, from the time of his quitting the bar to his death, he was employed in the execution of the highest posts, and in the service of his prince. But he had a quick apprehension, joined to unwearied application. In summer he always began his studies as soon as it was night, (i. e. *at sunset*,) in winter generally at one in the morning, but never later than two, and often at midnight. No man ever spent less time in bed, insomuch that he would sometimes, without retiring from his book, take a short sleep, and then pursue his studies. Before day-break he used to wait upon Vespasian, who likewise chose that season to transact business. When he had finished the affairs which that emperor committed to his charge, he returned home again to his studies. After a short and light repast at noon, (agreeably to the good old custom of our ancestors,) he would frequently in the summer, if he was disengaged from business, repose himself in the sun, during which time some author was read to him, from whence he made extracts and observations; as indeed this was his constant method whatever book he read: for it was a maxim of his, that ‘no book was so bad but something might be learned from it.’ When this was over, he generally went into the cold bath; and as soon as he came out of it, just took a slight refreshment, and then reposed himself for a little while. Thus, as if it had been a new day, he immediately resumed his studies till supper-time, when a book was again read to him, upon which he would make

some hasty remarks. I remember once, his reader having pronounced a word wrong, somebody at the table made him repeat it again; upon which my uncle asked his friend if he understood it? who acknowledged, that he did: 'Why then,' said he, 'would you make him go back again? We have lost, by this interruption, above ten lines:' so covetous was this great man of time! In summer he always rose from supper by daylight; and in winter as soon as it was dark: and this was an invariable law with him. Such was his manner of life amidst the noise and hurry of the town: but in the country his whole time was devoted to study without intermission, excepting only when he bathed. But in this exception I include no more than the time he was actually in the bath; for all the while he was rubbed and wiped, he was employed either in hearing some book read to him, or in dictating himself. In his journeys he lost no time from his studies, but his mind at those seasons being disengaged from all other thoughts, applied itself wholly to that single pursuit. A secretary constantly attended him in his chariot, who, in winter, wore a particular sort of warm gloves, that the sharpness of the weather might not occasion any interruption to his studies: and for the same reason my uncle always used a chair in Rome. I remember he once reproved me for walking. 'You might,' said he, 'employ those hours to more advantage;' for he thought all was time lost, that was not given to study. By this extraordinary application he found time to write so many volumes, besides one hundred and sixty which he left me, consisting of a kind of commonplace, written on both sides, in a very small character, so that one might fairly reckon the number considerably more. I have heard him say, when he was comptroller of the revenue in Spain, Largius Licinius offered him four hundred thousand sesterces for these manuscripts: and yet they were not quite so numerous. When you reflect on the books he has read, and the volumes he has wrote, are you

not inclined to suspect that he never was engaged in the affairs of the public, or the service of his prince? On the other hand, when you are informed how indefatigable he was in his studies, are you not disposed to wonder that he read and wrote no more? For on one side, what obstacles would not the business of a court throw in his way? And on the other, what is it that such intense application might not perform?"

IV. 7. MARCUS FABIVS QVINTILIANVS.

Quintilian was born, A. D. 42. The year of his death is uncertain: he appears to have been alive in the year 118. He was a Spaniard by birth, a Calagurritanian. Gedyon is of opinion, that he was a Roman. After the death of Nero, he was taken to Rome by Galba, where he not only distinguished himself in the forum, but also opened a school, which was frequented by pupils, both numerous and of the highest rank. His diligence and taste were crowned with the most ample rewards: a public salary, fame, wealth, the freedom of Rome, the *clavus latus*, and even the consulship, were among his honourable compensations. After he had dedicated twenty years to the instruction of youth, he retired from public duties, and employed the rest of life in educating the grand-children of Domitian's sister, and in completing his commentaries.

His great work consists of "Oratorical Institutions," in twelve books; in which he takes the pupil from the very cradle, and descending to the lowest elements of rhetorick, he conducts him by the hand through all the progressive stages of instruction, necessary to that ideal beauty, a consummate orator. Many of his rules are dry, formal, technical, and totally inapplicable to modern times: but so great is his love of virtue, so just and sensible are his general precepts, and so eloquent his language, that he deservedly holds a very high place in the estimation of modern writers. "I have no hesitation (says Drake) in pro-

nouncing Quintilian *the first critic of antiquity*: he has commented upon, and in a style exquisitely adapted to the subject, all the first writers of Greece and Rome.”—“I have often perused with pleasure (says Gibbon) the chapter of Quintilian, in which that *judicious critic* enumerates and appreciates the series of Greek and Latin Classics.”—“Quintilian (says Warton) is one of the *most rational and elegant* of Roman writers; and no author ever adorned a scientific treatise with so many beautiful metaphors.”—His work derives new value from the age in which it was published: despotism, by enslaving the body, had subjected the mind also: deliberative eloquence in the senate and in the forum had given place to the fictitious subjects of scholastic declamation. If it be no ordinary exertion of virtue to keep itself unspotted in the midst of vice, it is no common praise of Quintilian, that he retained a correct taste, though surrounded by degenerate and seductive models.

IV. 3. CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS

Was born about the year 56. A. D. His father was Cornelius Tacitus, an imperial procurator of Belgic Gaul. His earlier years were so distinguished by integrity and learning, that Agricola selected him as son-in-law, at the age of twenty. He was favoured by Vespasian and Titus, and rose to preferment even under Domitian. He was a third time consul during the government of Nerva, and is supposed to have died in the reign of Trajan. His intimacy with Pliny is well known.

His principal works are his “Annals,” and “History,” both of which have come down to us in a very mutilated state. His other works are a Life of Agricola, and a treatise on the Manners of the Germans.

As an historian he has been charged with malignity, in ascribing the conduct and actions of men to unworthy motives; but this must be ascribed to the state of society into

which he was thrown: that he was not insensible to the charms of virtue and honourable deeds, is evident from that glowing enthusiasm, with which he portrays the worth of Germanicus and Agricola, and inculcates the noblest principles of virtue, freedom, and public integrity. (*Aikin.*)

In style he prefers concise sentences, from an anxiety to express his meaning in the shortest space and time: hence his sentences are like springs wound up, and full of an impatient elasticity. His moral observations are of that happy brevity, sufficient to awaken in the minds of his readers a train of appropriate thought. His political observations have been the grand storehouse to modern writers: witness the labours of Forstner, Malvezzi, and Gordon. But while he delivers his apophthegms with a sort of oracular dignity, he, like the oracles, is often exposed to the charge of obscurity: an obscurity which (say his admirers) generally vanishes after a second perusal.

“No prose writer in any language surpasses him in force of description, by which he dramatizes a scene, and places it before the eye of his reader.” (*Murphy.*)

The reign of Tiberius is considered his master-piece: it was a reign the most adapted to the character of his genius, which delighted in unravelling intrigues, and in tracing, from their source, the secret motives of actions, and all the internal springs of conspiracies and revolutions.

IV. 9. CAIUS PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, THE YOUNGER

Was born A. D. 62. He died after A. D. 107; but the precise year is unknown. He was a native of Comum, near the Larian lake. His uncle, Pliny the elder, by whom he was adopted, caused him to be instructed in oratory by Quintilian, and in philosophy by Nicetas. While a young man, he served a campaign in Syria. On the death of his uncle, he betook himself to the bar; and after various dig-

nitias, he was elevated to the prefecture of Bithynia, and to the consulship. He was intimate with Tacitus, Martial, Silius Italicus, and Suetonius, and with the emperor Trajan. He not only himself cultivated literature, but was the patron and benefactor of learned men. We have ten books of "Epistles" by Pliny, and the "Panegyric" of Trajan.

As the letters of Pliny were intended and arranged for publication, they do not possess that familiarity and ease, which are the characteristics of the epistolary style. Some rigid critics have observed, that they are too laboured, and abound too much in metaphors and artificial turn of expression; and that the author is, on all occasions, his own hero too obtrusively. At the same time, we must remark, that these letters are, for the most part, marked with much elegance, grace, and variety of subject: they are interesting from the very name of the friends by whose intimacy he was honoured. If Pliny does not, like Cicero, interest us by the detail of political intrigue, and by the history of stormy times, he amuses us with many anecdotes, descriptive of private life and characters. Above all, the amiable spirit diffused over the whole, and evinced in numerous acts of friendship and beneficence, is admirably adapted to awaken, more especially in the minds of the youthful reader, the love of every moral and noble feeling. Pliny, it is true, has sacrificed much to studied ornament: yet the style, though elaborate, is the style of a gentleman; and his censurers should remember, that art may have its beauties as well as nature, and that the eye rests awhile with pleasure on the trim and elegant parterre. His panegyric of Trajan has many fine thoughts; and though ornament sometimes holds the place of simple beauty, it does him honour with posterity.

IV. 10. LUCIUS ANNÆUS FLORUS

Is supposed to have lived under Trajan, about A. D. 117. He was a Gaul, or a Spaniard: the critics have not decided his country. His work is an epitome of Roman affairs, in four books, from the foundation of the city to the shutting of the Temple of Janus, in the reign of Augustus. He is not totally devoid of merit; but by his affectation of magnificent periods, by pointed sentences, and by his continued panegyric of the Romans, he is more of a poet than an historian.

IV. 11. CAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS

Was born A. D. 70: the year of his death is uncertain; he was alive A. D. 121.

Suetonius was the son of Suetonius Lenis, tribune of a legion, in the time of Otho. He seems, from a letter of Pliny to him, to have been a barrister. By the interest of Pliny, Suetonius received from Trajan the *jus trium liberorum*, and was afterwards secretary to the emperor Adrian; but was removed from this office, owing to some want of respect evinced towards the empress Sabina.

His chief work is "the Lives of the twelve first Roman Emperors." He is rather a writer of anecdote than an historian. Though some may charge him with a taste for gossiping, yet his work is valuable and interesting from its very minuteness of detail. A similar work, detailing the private life of any distinguished person in modern times, would be perused with great avidity. After trembling at the victories of Cæsar or at the cruelties of Caligula, it is curious to know whether they were bald, what was their dress, or what was their mode of spelling. Suetonius is further recommended to us by an air of simplicity and impartiality: he seems to set down nought in malice—he neither loves nor fears; but collecting all the information within his reach, he submits it to the decision of his

readers. The description which he gives of the dissoluteness of the emperors, by no means proves that he loved obscenities, but rather that he considered it the duty of an historian to relate faithfully all particulars; and by transmitting the memory of sensuality to future ages with infamy, thereby to repress the brutality of others.

IV. 12. PHÆDRUS, OR PHÆDER,

Lived about 30, A. D. He was a Thracian by birth. He was subsequently a slave at Rome, but emancipated by the emperor Augustus, who, induced by the probity of his manners and the elegance of his talents, afforded to him the means of a more enlarged education. Under the reign of Tiberius, he became obnoxious to the favourite Sejanus, whom he occasionally satirizes in his fables. Of these fables, we have five books, written in an easy, classical, elegant, and often poetical style.

IV. 13. AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS

Was born at Volaterræ in Etruria, A. D. 34. Being of equestrian family, he had the means of acquiring a refined and cultivated understanding. The attainments and virtues of the mind were graced by much personal beauty. His principal instructor was the stoic philosopher Cornutus, of whom he ever retained, and testified in his writings, the most affectionate remembrance. Persius has left *six satires*. In imitation of Lucilius, he lashes the profligacy of his age with more bitterness than humour. In general talent and elegance he yields not only to Horace, but also to Juvenal. From the obscurity of his style, he has been termed ‘the Latin Lycophron.’ Some have defended the obscurity of his writings, by attributing it to his fear of Nero; but it arises in reality from his affectation of a Stoic dignity.

IV. 14. MARCUS ANNÆUS LUCANUS,

WHO was of an equestrian family, was born at Corduba, A. D. 38; and died A. D. 65. His father, Annæus Mela, took him, while young, to Rome, that, from his earliest years, he might become accustomed to the purity of the Latin tongue, and receive the advantages of the best education. Having made considerable progress under the auspices of Rhemnius, Palæmon, Flavius, Virginius, and Cornutus, he was sent to complete his studies at Athens. Upon his return, he was distinguished by the favour of Nero. The emperor soon grew jealous of a rival poet; and some indignities which he offered to Lucan, induced him to enter into Piso's conspiracy. Upon the discovery of this design, Lucan was ordered to kill himself: he opened his veins, and expired with great fortitude.

Lucan wrote the *Pharsalia*, or an account of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, in ten books, ending with the death of Pompey. This poem every where exhibits great genius, love of liberty, bold declamation, and contains many affecting incidents; but, upon the whole, it must be pronounced rather historical than epic. Quintilian ranks him more among orators than poets. He is somewhat unfortunate in his choice of subject: the civil war presents scenes too atrocious to be celebrated by the Muse; and his own proximity to the events which constitute the poem, prevents him from intermingling any portion of poetic fiction. By his inflated and tumid language, by his exaggeration of things, by his excess of declamation, by his display of the Stoic dogmas, he has injured the fame of his poem, in many other respects so commendable. His partiality to the cause of Pompey has rendered him very unjust to the merits of Cæsar.

IV. 15. CAIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS SETINUS BALBUS

Died A. D. 89. Little more is known of him, than that he was born at Padua. In poetry he has gained considerable

reputation by imitating Apollonius and Virgil. He wrote a poem entitled "Argonautics," or the adventures of the Argonauts, in eight books, the eighth book being imperfect. Some critics have been so delighted with the poetry of Flaccus, as to assign to him the place next to Virgil. That he is no mean poet, must be allowed by all, who have a relish for genius, art, and poetic ornament. His invention, though turning on an obscure history, is ingenious, and full of spirit; his comparisons apt; his language, though occasionally obscure, is elegant and poetical. He is a better poet than Apollonius Rhodius, who is his chief, though not only guide, in the fables and history relative to the voyage of the Argonauts.

IV. 16. PUBLIUS PAPINIUS STATIUS

Was born at Naples, A. D. 61. He was happy in possessing a father who carefully superintended his education, more especially in poetry, oratory, and in the Greek and Latin languages. Upon his repairing to Rome, he was distinguished by the favour of Domitian, from whom he received an estate and a laurel crown, as his prize in some poetic contests. He seems to have become disgusted with the luxury of Rome: he returned to his native Naples, where he died A. D. 96.

Stattus wrote the "*Thebais*," in twelve books, comprising the wars of Eteocles and Polynices; the *Achilleis*, a work unfinished, in two books; and five books of *Sylvæ*, or miscellaneous pieces.

His genius is splendid; his style is magnificent and grand, but inconsistent, and generally too daring and tumid. He can scarcely be said to have a definite and precise hero; his heroes, both Theban and Argive, being numerous, and almost equally celebrated. Stattus lingers in the narration of his story; and his poem, though termed *Thebais*, is almost concluded before he commences his siege of Thebes. In his *Sylvæ*, he is more easy and natural than

his other works: some of these pieces seem to have been extemporary effusions.

IV. 17. MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS,

A Spaniard by nation, was born at Bilbilis, a town of Celtiberia. Under the reign of Nero, he came to Rome while young, and with great diligence betook himself to the cultivation of epigrams, in which, during the reign of Titus, and especially of Domitian, he excelled all his contemporaries, and by which he has handed down his own name to posterity. To the kindness of Domitian, he was indebted for the *jus trium liberorum*, and for an honorary tribuneship; favours which, under the reign of Nerva and Trajan, he unthankfully requited, by assailing the memory of his benefactor. At a more advanced age, he returned to his native country, and married Marcella, a lady possessed of an opulent fortune. His writings consist of fourteen books of epigrams, to which is prefixed a book "De Spectaculis," consisting, probably, of various epigrammatic pieces, composed by various authors, relative to the circumstances of the public games, and which fugitive pieces were collected by Martial. His epigrams are distinguished by a great portion of wit, humour, and knowledge of manners; but he is not free from scurrility and obscenity. He has himself characterized his own writings, not inaptly, by saying of them, "Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt *mala plura*."

IV. 18. CAIUS SILIUS ITALICUS

Was a Roman by birth; born, A. D. 25; died A. D. 100. Some critics suppose, from his name, *Italicus*, that he was born at *Itala*, a town of Spain. His cotemporary, Pliny, (the younger,) has given the following account of Silius, in the 7th letter of his 3d book:

"I am just now informed, that Silius Italicus has starved himself to death at his villa near Naples. Having been afflicted with an imposthume, which was deemed incurable,

he grew weary of life under such uneasy circumstances, and therefore put an end to it, with the most determined courage. He had been extremely fortunate through the whole course of his days, excepting only the loss of his younger son; however, that was made up to him in the satisfaction of seeing his eldest, who is of a more amiable character, attain the consular dignity, and of leaving him in a very flourishing situation. He suffered a little in his reputation in the time of Nero, having been suspected of forwardly joining in some of the informations which were carried on in the reign of that prince; but he made use of his interest in Vitellius, with great discretion and humanity. He acquired much honour by his administration of the government of Asia; and, by his approved behaviour, after his retirement from business, cleared his character from that stain which his former intrigues had thrown upon it. He lived among the nobility of Rome, without power; and consequently without envy. Though he frequently was confined to his bed, and always to his chamber, yet he was highly respected and much visited; not with a view to his wealth, but merely on account of his merit. He employed his time between conversing with men of letters, and composing of verses; which he sometimes recited, in order to try the sentiments of the public: but he discovered in them more industry than genius. In the decline of his years he entirely quitted Rome, and lived altogether in Campania, from whence even the accession of the new emperor could not draw him; a circumstance which I mention as well to the honour of the prince, who was not displeased with that liberty, as of Italicus, who was not afraid to make use of it. He was reproached with being fond of all the elegancies of the fine arts to a degree of excess. He had several villas in the same province; and the last purchase was always the chief favourite, to the neglect of the rest. They were all furnished with large collections of books, statues, and pictures, which he more than enjoyed,

he even adored: particularly that of Virgil, of whom he was so passionate an admirer, that he celebrated the anniversary of that poet's birth-day with more solemnity than his own; especially at Naples, where he used to approach his tomb with as much reverence as if it had been a temple. In this tranquillity he lived to the seventy-fifth year of his age, with a delicate, rather than a sickly constitution."

Silius has written a poem on the second Punic War, in seventeen books. He has been condemned, perhaps too hastily, for want of fire and genius; and for imitating Virgil so slavishly in sentiment, and even in phrase, that he has been termed the Ape of Virgil. Yet, if candid criticism be allowed room, we must confess that it is impossible to rise from a perusal of Silius, without many feelings in his favour. His Latinity is pure, terse, clear, and well adapted to the dignity of the epic poem. The general narration of his poem, and the connexion of his events, though varied in time and place, are, upon the whole, lucid, and indicative of great care and diligence. In numerous passages, professedly borrowed from Homer and Virgil, he has interwoven much additional imagery; and in all points relative to the history and geography, which his poem comprises, his authority may be considered invaluable, and almost infallible. Neither is he devoid of splendid passages, which are conceived with the mind of a poet.

IV. 19. DECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS

Was born at Aquinum, a Volscian town, A. D. 38. The earlier part of his life was occupied in declaiming, either for the schools or the bar: but his natural talents, and perhaps a desire of greater glory, impelled him to the cultivation of satire. The more brilliant period of his life seems to have been under the reign of Hadrian, by whom he was sent, with a cohort, to the most distant frontiers of Egypt. Others consider this commission as a sort of honorary exile, inflicted upon him by Domitian, whom Juvenal had of-

fended by satirising that emperor's favourite, Paris. Juvenal died about A. D. 119.

Though Juvenal appeared at a very late period, and in an age rather unfavourable to the cultivation of poetry, he exhibits more of its spirit than several others who preceded him. Quintilian is supposed to allude to Juvenal, when he says, "There are many who have now a distinguished reputation, and who will be recorded by posterity." Juvenal writes with the morose yet honest sincerity of a rigid philosopher. His sentiments are singularly bold, and his diction approaches to the declamatory. He has little delicacy, but he abounds with masculine beauty. It cannot be denied, that his style partook of the corruption of the age; but yet it is always strikingly expressive, and often elegant, beautiful, and pure. (*Knov.*)

Vigorous old Age of the Latin Language, from the death of Trajan to the capture of Rome by the Goths.

During this period, there were many who could assign to letters a true value, and who laboured to uphold or to recover the former fame of the Roman language. Some few of the emperors were not backward to foster learning by their favour and patronage: but the intestine wars, the influx of foreigners, superstition, the general omission of rewards, by which genius and talent are excited, the persecutions by which the Christian youth were deterred from the cultivation of literature; these, and other injurious circumstances, proved fatal to the purity of the Roman tongue, which soon expired under the irruptions of barbarians. In reviewing the authors who lived during this period, we shall confine our attention to those only whose works form part of classical studies, and which have been often edited by classical students.

JUSTINUS FRONTINUS

Lived under the Antonines. He published an abridgment of the History originally composed by Trogus Pompeius,

in the reign of Augustus. Bayle considers Justin to have but little judgment, and thinks that Trogus would curse his abridger an hundred times a day. This censure is too severe. His style in general is clear, natural, and without affectation. He is not a painter of manners, but an excellent narrator. We must not look in him for method and chronology: his is a rapid sketch of great events, which have taken place among conquering nations, comprising what relates to the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, from Ninus to Augustus.

AULUS GELLIUS

Flourished under Antoninus Pius, about A. D. 146. He was born of an illustrious Roman family, and both at Rome and Athens was a diligent cultivator of letters. His work is termed, "Attic Nights," divided into twenty books: the 8th and beginning of the 6th are lost. As A. Gellius has studiously collected from a great variety of authors, much philological, critical, historical, and philosophical matter, his style is as diversified as the sources of his materials; it is often elegant, but is by no means exempt from new and barbarous phraseology.

FLAVIUS EUTROPIUS

Flourished about A. D. 375. The critics do not agree in relation to his country: Constantinople, Italy, and Gaul, have been assigned as the place of his birth. He wrote a breviary of the Roman History. His style is concise, somewhat dry, but not inelegant. He relates many events, which were comprised in the lost books of Livy, who was his great favourite and model. He seems to have been animated by a love of truth, and is not devoid of the judgment necessary to an historian.

DECIMUS MAGNUS AUSAONIUS

Was born at Bourdeaux about A. D. 309, and died (according

to Longchamp) about 394. He was carefully educated by his parents; and was himself, in subsequent life, a teacher during thirty years. The emperor Valentinian confided the education of his son to Ausonius, and rewarded him with many honours, even with the consulship. After the death of Gratian, Ausonius retired into rural life, and dedicated his time to the composition of Poems. His works consist of Epigrams, Elegies to the memory of friends and literary acquaintances, Idylls, and many minor poems. Scaliger is a great admirer of this poet: we must not, indeed, deny to Ausonius the praise of learning, diligence, and considerable simplicity of style: but, with few exceptions, he is distinguished by much puerility, empty trifling, and has perverted the language of Virgil to purposes the most obscene.

CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS

Began to flourish in the fourth century, under the reign of Arcadius and Honorius. His birth-place was Alexandria. His poetical talents soon introduced him into general notice, but, by his petulance and bold censure of the vices of the great, he was continually exposed to the attacks of envy and revenge. His poems, with the exception of the Rape of Proserpine, are of a political nature, and celebrate the military exploits, consulships, marriages, &c. of his powerful patrons. The purity of Claudian's style, considering the age in which he lived, is wonderfully great. His verse is sonorous, and flows with great dignity: but his language is too magnificent for the sentiment which it conveys. But whatever are his faults, they stand out so prominently, that they are easily discerned and avoided; while a careful perusal of his works cannot but assist the young student in acquiring a boldness of manner, and a happy variety of expression.

THE END.

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